



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG  
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# **Discursive changes on comprehensive education in Sweden from 1969 – 2011.**

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Supervisor:	Dennis Beach
Examiner:	Marianne Dovemark
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# Abstract

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**Aim:** Partly the investigation has an aim to make a diachronic analyse of Lgr 69, Lgr 80, Lpo 94 and Lgr 11 and critically discuss discursive changes within these policy documents, regarding educational reforms and paradigm shifts, and partly the purpose is to study the effects of these changes.

- What discursive changes can be identified within the educational regimes during the time period of 1969 – 2011 concerning participation and citizenship?
- How may these changes have affected the production and reproduction of social capital within the educational system

**Theory:** The theoretical framework has its point of departure within educational sociology concentrating on Critical theory, Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* and the discourse theory by Laclau and Mouffe.

**Method:** The methodology is based on the theoretical framework with Critical Discourse Analysis using Fairclough's three-dimensional model as the main analytical tool, combined with immanent critique.

**Results:** Three major discursive changes can be identified during the investigated period of time. From the foundation in the ideas of A School for All in Lgr 69, the discourse turned more into a School for Knowledge and Skills in Lgr 80. This neo-liberal turn has become even clearer in Lpo 94 and Lgr 11 with its focus on A School for the Market.

The discursive changes have transformed and affected the production and reproduction of social capital into a social order where marketisation has become *the* word. By habituating the individuals into a certain direction through discourses, the education now makes education a product to be sold and consumed. Thus, the production and reproduction of social capital is now directed toward a more 'profit-related' goal and enterprise –like praxis, where education provide with knowledge products in the shape of human capital.

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Thank you Dennis.

To Ulf...because you are always there for me.

To my father....who I know would have been very proud.

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# 1 Introduction

Recent curricula for comprehensive education in Sweden describe the task of school as being to encourage all individuals to find their own uniqueness, and by doing so being able to participate in the life of society (Skolverket, 2011, p. 9). However, the task of school also seems to have a mission to encourage the individual to give their best in responsible freedom (Dovemark, 2004). So basically, the individual is to discover its own uniqueness in order to participate in the social life, under conditions of responsible freedom.

My interest in questions concerning curricula and policy documents arose when I read the latest curriculum; Lgr 11 (Skolverket, 2011) for the first time. Already after the first reading I felt the formulations were very conflictual and became fascinated by how fast you could gather inner divergences and utterances that raised questions. I decided that this was something I wanted to investigate more thoroughly.

Connecting this interest with the fact that there have been several changes within the educational regimes during a long period of time (cf. Lindensjö, B. & Lundgren, 2000; Sjöberg, 2011; Gabrielsson, 2012; Harling, M., Jodal, E-B., Lindblad, S., Runesdotter, C., Wärvik, G-B., In press), indicates the importance of analysing how these changes have affected the education.

Bourdieu's notion of education is that it is controlled by groups who control economic, social and political resources as it is the cultural capital of these groups that becomes the proper sort of capital for educational reproduction in schools. Harker expresses this as follows: "[j]ust as our dominant economic institutions are structured to favour those who already possess economic capital, so our educational institutions are structured to favour those who already possess cultural capital, defined according to the criteria of the dominant hegemony" (Harker, K.R, 1984, p. 118).

## 1.1 The purpose of education

Troughout the years, education has been described as a disciplining conduction of power and an ideological state apparatus where the prevailing social order and worldviews are to be mediated and internalised (Althusser, 1971). Another way of expressing these thoughts is that education, as a social system, constitutes one of the most important individual factors behind social reproduction, i.e. "behind the society's continued population and expansion within the frames that exists at a certain point" (Berner, Callewaert, & Silberbrandt, 1977, p. 49. My translation). Nevertheless, education in it self does not create this reproduction, it is the concrete processes and power relations on all levels in society that determines how ideological assumptions are being shaped, upheld and changed (ibid).

Education as a mean for reproduction is an idea that historically can be found already in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, with expressions such how the ruling class is steering education into transforming individuals into plain articles of commerce and instruments of labour (Marx & Engels, 1848/1965). The educational system, as a social system, constitutes one of the most important factors behind social reproduction. From the very beginning, to talk

of an educational system, means perceiving a new aspect, namely a clear ideological function (Althusser, 1971).

Social production and social reproduction are recurrent factors in education (Berner et al., 1977). Social production generates necessary supplies and material for society (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000). Social reproduction can be regarded as the educational systems ideological function and maintaining a power relation between the different social classes (Berner et al., 1977). By corresponding to material and symbolic interests of groups differently situated within these social classes, the reproduction of cultural capital and social structures are always present (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) and reproduces economic, social and cultural privileges from one generation to another (Berner et al., 1977). The educational mission is established through legislation and policy texts, which bring the consequences that curriculum always is a political document (Jarl & Rönnerberg, 2010) and is always deeply associated with the politics of culture. "The curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a selective tradition, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge" (Apple, 1996, p. 22) and is produced out of the cultural, political and economic conflicts that organise and disorganise individuals.

Having a perspective based on conflict means that you will focus on questions concerning the power, justice/injustice and struggle embedded in this selective tradition. There is also an emphasis on the assumptions that society is organised by different groups driven by their own interests, where some groups have more to gain than others (Giddens, 2001). Differential power intrudes into the curriculum and teaching, meaning that there is always a politics of official knowledge that embodies conflict over what "some regard as neutral descriptions of the world and what others regards as elite conceptions that empower some groups while disempowering others" (Apple, 1996, p. 23). In the context of education having historically been the reproduction of an efficient and obedient work force (cf. Althusser, 1971; Beach, 2010; Sjöberg, 2011; Carlbaum, 2012; Gabrielsson, 2012), this might be achieved through transmitting the ideology of competition and training future employees to become submissive to authority, i.e. doing as you're told will become a normalisation within the behaviour and a means to control the individual by being rewarded for being good and doing as they're told. Within education individuals are given a set of ideas to understand the world, but they are not allowed to discuss or examine these ideas, only to accept and believe in them (Kirby; Kidd; Koubel; Barter; Hope; Kirton; Madry; Manning & Triggs, 2000).

A consensus prevails regarding the purpose of education being mainly to reproduce cultural norms and ideals. This statement can be underpinned by the argument that education, and educational reforms in particular, construct what is assumed as desirable qualities within the individual. This, although the values that a society wishes to promote are a matter of negotiation, the individual is still forced by the outcomes of these negotiations, i.e. education is a question of how to balance the interests of various groups or individuals in order to bring about outcomes that are satisfactory to all (Carr, 2005).

School and education is one of the most important social domains for the socialisation and shaping of the future citizens. Returning once more to the mid 1900 century, Durkheim claimed that education was overall considered as a mean to produce social coherence and circumstances for solidarity (Lindblad & Popkewits (Eds.), 2001), whereby culture is reproduced through generations in social interaction. This interaction can be either mechanic or organic. The mechanic type is characterised on common conceptions and feelings, while the organic deals with integration as a result of specialisation and a mutual dependence.

These ideas are similar to the ideas of Marx; mainly in the view of a unity and the individual as a part of this unity. The contrast however between Durkheim and Marx is

the perspective that the individual must be understood as a social creature, even when he is acting individually. Marx considered the individual and society as a part of a dialectic relation, where the one was unthinkable without the other. The process in which the individual had been separated from the society was, according to Marx, a historical one, which was intimately connected to how capitalism had emerged and developed. Since this separation of individual and society was a result of the historical development, could it also be recalled by the continuing historical development. Actually, the whole separation from society, was a part of the modern society's alienation which had its ground in the division of productive labour (Boglund; Eliæson & Månson, 2005).

Education as a mean to produce labour force is thus an old phenomenon but still very much vivid (cf. Abrahamsson, 1973; Berg, 2003; Sjöberg, 2011). However, returning to the meaning and purpose of education, what do we actually expect education to do? There are claims that the education system continues to produce gross social inequalities, and to be able to find any answer to that, we need to take into consideration what education policy makers, educational practitioners, parents and students express the purpose and possibilities of education to be. What is actually the promise we've been given by education (Ross; Dooley & Hartsmar, 2012)?

## **1.2 Transformation or reproduction: two views of the possibilities of education**

The debate about educational views can be tracked back already to Aristotle more than 2000 years ago. As he stated there are opposing views about the tasks to be set, for there are no generally accepted assumptions about what the young should learn, either for their own virtue or for the best of life. Moreover he added nor is it yet clear whether their education ought to be conducted with more concern for the intellect than for the character or soul or whether training should be directed at things, useful in life, or at those most conducive to virtue, or at exceptional accomplishments (Aristotle, 1962, p. 1337a33. My translation).

These questions persist to this day. Should we teach to enhance and develop the individual's intelligence, or their social behaviour? "Do we spend large sums of money on schooling in order to develop a skilled and able workforce [...], or to advance socially responsible behaviour [...], or to support specialised knowledge and progression" (Ross et al., 2012, p. 1)? In other words; should education preserve existing cultural and social structures, or should it be used as an engine for social transformation and change? The functionalistic view is still rather common in claiming that all societies have the task of passing on to the next generation knowledge and skills regarded as particularly worthwhile. Dewey stated that educational processes should promote social equality and has a developmental role for the individual, as it creates a desire for continued growth (Ross et al., 2012).

The ambitions for transforming education with egalitarian and liberal arguments, has been critiqued as it seems that it has still not happened. Political and economic structures incline to prescribe the conformation of the curriculum and the systems by which it is being delivered, in ways that diminish the possibilities of societal or economic change (ibid). Some see this as a deliberate policy and part of a war on the poor executed by the middle classes on behalf of the dominant class. As Michael Apple wrote, "schools contribute to inequality because they are intentionally organised to distribute particular kinds of knowledge unequally" (Apple, 1990, p. 43).

Yet education can be portrayed as the major engine for social change and transformation and as able to produce individuals who will challenge xenophobia, promote human rights, equalities and democracy. Education can shape citizens who are able to reason,

argue and who will be economically literate. School will inform people that they are numerate, able to use science, speak various languages and possess important skills, knowledge and competences that make them able to work and endure themselves and their families' needs (Ross et al., 2012).

Nevertheless, despite these ideas about transformation, there still remains an essential traditionalism in educational policy. A majority of the countries in Europe expect the curriculum to maintain what are seen as the country's traditional values and views of its history (Ross et al., 2012). This can be seen in Sweden as well, through a powerful turn towards a more conservative agenda within educational policy (Player - Koro, 2012). A quite relevant notion which could be connected with this preservation of traditional standards is conservative modernisation (cf. Apple, 2009; Player - Koro, 2012). What it means is that conservative and traditional ideals are being aimed for in the modernisation of education (Sjöberg, 2011). Conservative modernisation is one of the trends that have reformed the terrain of education and can be regarded as a political project that constructs imagined pasts as the framework for imagined futures (Apple, 2009).

It is a neoconservative trend that has been evident in recent reform cycles in education, such as the Swedish Government Bill 2009/10:89 for changing teacher education and the Green Paper recommendations that preceded it reviewed in previous chapters. These documents describe a return to a more competence-oriented knowledge base for teachers that involves a switch back to subject studies, psychology and a technical curriculum theory (didactics) as the main content areas in teacher education at the cost of other areas and a view of subject knowledge as relatively straightforward, neutral and objective content that should form the basis for professional development and teaching skills. (Player - Koro, 2012, pp. 104-105)

Connecting to this it can therefore be argued that educational structures have been created around a model of capitalist production and that contemporary schooling corresponds to the labour requirements of capitalist post-industrialised economies. In a sense it is not only that schools reproduce the characteristics required by capitalist production by which we mean the production and accumulation of monied wealth not only by the exploitation of industrial labour and its direct products – but in fact that this even seems to be the very purpose of education (Apple, 2006). The outcome of this would be that schools become mechanisms for cultural distribution and class reproduction and that the expansion of mass schooling was a response to economic greed rather than the promotion of social reform” (Ross et al., 2012, p. 6).

Relating a capitalistic worldview to education can find support as “[s]chools are destined to legitimate inequality, limit personal development to forms compatible with submission to arbitrary authority, and aid in the process whereby youth are resigned to their fate” (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 266). Another support for the argument is how the expansion of corporate industries in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century required a more differentiated and hierarchically organised labour force. Furthermore, at the same time as the educational system was based on methods that purported to be fair in its allocation of individuals to particular social and economic positions, the same system inculcated the individuals to accept a legitimisation of the limited roles in society they were allowed (cf. Meyer, 1977; MacDonald, 1977; Berg, 2003; Beach & Dovemark, 2011; Sjöberg, 2011).

Considering the two views of educational possibilities, it becomes interesting to reflect how knowledge of the educational field produces “distinctions and divisions related to action and participation” (Popkewitz; Lindblad & Strandberg, 1999, p. 43). That is, the



problematic of knowledge provides an emphasis of access and participation. Moreover, it views governance as the rule of conduct involving the productive aspects of power. This can be explained by “ [g]overnance is a consideration of the ways of conducting conduct, that is, the ways of acting on the actions of others through calculating the direction and principles of performance and modes of subjectification” (p. 43).

To take the argument a bit further, Apple (2006) claims that education has transformed its mission due to the neo-liberalistic influence. The current task is to more or less change people’s understanding of themselves as members of collective groups. It is important that the individual, in order to support a market economy, encourages everyone to think of themselves as individuals who are always able to act in ways that maximise their own interests. Additionally, Apple claims that this approach also contains a supplementary ideological goal. “People also need to be encouraged to accept that this is entirely ‘appropriate’ to have winners and losers in the system. If everyone acted in such an ‘economically rational’ way, the common good would somehow take care of itself. Such a process is seen as wealth creating” (p. 23), in other words, encouraging the individual to find its own uniqueness in order to participate in society?

### 1.3 Framing the problem

The creation of citizenship has during a long period of time been linked with the reformation of education, its purpose and goal (Carlbaum, 2012). In a Swedish context, to educate and foster for a special citizenship, partly takes departure from the nation, but also religion where certain moral values based on a Christian culture were to be transferred to the children (Boman, 2002). These ideals of fostering were expressed in terms of fellowship fostering and were also connected to the building of the *folkhem*. Nevertheless, the school’s citizenship fostering role in the shape of a socially community, as well as political, cultural and economically conditions for upbringing, were challenged and questioned within educational politics during the 1990s (Carlbaum, 2012). In other words, not only the educational politics were changed, but the whole welfare society was transformed towards an increased decentralisation, privatisation and marketization for freedom of choice and influence. This constructed citizens as customers or clients of various welfare services. This change emphasises an increased individualisation where the individual becomes responsible for her own welfare after her own ability (cf. Sjöberg, 2011; Carlbaum, 2012; Gabrielsson, 2012).

In that sense it is worth returning to Lgr 11 (Skolverket, 2011) and the aim of inspiring the search for uniqueness in order to be a responsible participating citizen in Swedish society. By doing that, it is also worth asking what is to be concerned as the important values and competences in school, which is constantly disputed and renegotiated. There appears to be a constant struggle for meaning regarding educational praxis and education also seem to have different functions in different periods of time (Carlbaum, 2012).

The school’s National Curriculum is a quite powerful policy document, however, the incapacity of education to promote personal development is not due to the content of the curricula, which has a rather small role to play. Instead, it is the form of the pedagogic discourses (Bernstein, 2000) that determine what is to be reproduced (Ross et al., 2012). When new reforms are to be launched, ideological questions emerge regarding what should be retained, what should be changed and who’s interests should prevail. In that sense, there is always a struggle for power over formulations and presentations of problems and what is needed to be done or changed (Carlbaum, 2012). For that reason, I claim the importance of studying how the policy documents are being constructed through discourses and what consequences the individual may suffer.

It seems that education has experienced a dislocation between its goal and meaning throughout the past 70 years (cf. Carlbaum, 2012; Harling et al., In press). The period after World War II can be seen as a golden year for the welfare state in Sweden. There were extensive reforms regarding education which were meant to create the school as a spearhead towards the future. The idea was to realise this by letting the state govern a praxis that would lead to desired goals. Later on these ideas were critiqued, which lead to a decentralisation of the educational system. The municipality took the wheel and Sweden went from a system of governance based on rules to one based on goals. Furtheron this has been changed into an even more entrepreneurial model with a privatisation and marketisation as the leading notions (Harling et al., In press). Out of this, three overlapping periods concerning governing of the Swedish school can be identified:



**Figure 1** Three overlapping periods in Swedish educational system 1945 and forward, based on the dominant models for governing the school (ibid).

What I would like to investigate in the present study is not the outcome of this dislocation as such, but more the changes within the discourses and how they may have affected or influenced the individual in searching for its own uniqueness and its ability to participate as a responsible member of the society. It may also be of value to put the outcomes of these dislocations in relation to the different worldviews of the aims and possibilities of education. Could it be that the uniqueness in a way creates a dilemma for the individual and might be a hindrance to being a responsible participating citizen? Narrowing the individual down to being a student within the educational system, we might talk of a legitimised dissimulated community where a common origin also contains exclusion (cf. Bhabha, 2004; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Slee, 2001). The reproduction, but also the production of new limitations or boundaries, becomes more visible when analysing and deconstructing the discourses regarding educational policies (Lindblad, In press). Four ideal types of curricula codes and their legitimization in state mass education can be named;

*Table 1:* Ideal Types of Curriculum Codes and their Legitimation in State Mass Education Systems. Legitimizing institutions (ibid, p.9):

	Religion	Science	Political system	Economy
<b>Curriculum codes</b>	Moral	Rational	Political	Economic
<b>The cultivated</b>	Righteous	Reasonable	Democratic	Entrepreneurial
<b>The other</b>	Unreliable	Obsolescent	Totalitarian	Unemployable

We see here that what is desired of an educated individual is the ability of being entrepreneurial and to serve the economy by being employable (cf. Sjöberg, 2011; Gabrielsson, 2012). This is in time with Lindblad (In press) who claims that all codes have an economic aspect; “[i]t is not enough to have an education – the population that is coming of age needs to acquire adequate competences in an increasingly uncertain and unstable society, which in turn is putting forward demands for a combination of flexible education and life-long learning (p.9). Education is regarded as a means for individuals to become employed and earn a living. Thus they need to outline their school career to avoid unemployment and the risk of becoming outsiders or even enemies in the current population” (p.10). Lindblad talks here in terms of making the un-educated into righteous, reasonable, democratic or entrepreneurial subjects who are always at risk of social exclusion and abjection.

Constructions of citizenship, and in this particular study, the individual within the educational context, visualise aspects of power that are manifest in different mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion around whom who belongs and who doesn’t and what is desirable behaviours and characteristics and what is not (Carlbaum, 2012)?

The recent curricula in Sweden, Lgr11 (Skolverket, 2011) is said to rest upon a “democratic foundation” (p. 9). Conducting research with a focus on the discursive changes during a certain period of time, might explain whether there exist differences in how we distinguish the democratic foundations, which eventually might lead to various ways of dealing with the individual’s participation within the educational system. The beginning of the 1990s has been described as one of the most reform intense periods in Swedish educational history, and so has also most recent time period of 2006 to 2014 because of its curricula reforms, a changed grading system, reforms within the teacher education, more and earlier national tests etc. (Carlbaum, 2012).

### **1.3.1 A new order in policy texts**

My main argument in this thesis is that a new order has been established within education policy texts to enable the construction of new types of individual for a new (neo-liberal) social order (Dovemark, 2004). According to Swedish educational policy documents, students should be “curious, motivated and gradually become able to seek and evaluate knowledge him/herself”. Thus it is not only a matter of “cognitive abilities and acquisition of the ‘right’ knowledge, but rather also developing certain personal traits and dispositions, social and cognitive competencies, which are believed necessary in the future labour market” (Lundahl, 2000, pp. 194-195). These traits, dispositions and potentials or competencies can comprise a concept of habitus, which is a durable, transposable system of definitions (Bourdieu, 1992). Jenkins (2007) defines habitus as a shared body of dispositions, classificatory categories and generative schemes. It can also be seen as an outcome of collective history where individuals creating their own history, albeit not in circumstances of their own choosing (p.80). These “circumstances” are “the product of what people do (practices)... As a consequence, history tends to repeat itself and the *status quo* is perpetuated” (Jenkins, 2007, pp. 80-81). This potential is quite explicit in the policy documents, when describing desired outcomes and constructions. In the Government School Development Plan (Regeringen, 1997) it states very clearly that students who don’t fit with the desired characteristics are, and will become, increasingly disabled and marginalised in the knowledge society. In other words, the educational system is an ideological tool for creating a habitus that demonstrates that the ‘others’, the excluded, have themselves to blame as they are themselves responsible for not achieving the desired uniqueness and citizenship (cf. Berner et al., 1977; Beach & Dovemark, 2011).

One important part of such competences is an education that gives the prerequisites to develop creativity, preparedness for change, communication skills, communication ability, language proficiency and social competence. Continuous learning promotes innovative thinking and stimulates an entrepreneurial spirit. (ibid. p. 15)

Taking this notion of habitus as a socialisation, the central of the present study is to make a historical review of the discourses concerning educational changes throughout a certain period of time, and by that being able to discuss the phenomenon of uniqueness and participation in society in responsible freedom.

## **1.4 Definitions of key words**

In the present study there occur a number of central notions. To help the reading and understanding, I will provide with examples of definitions.

### **1.4.1 Democracy**

Marx represents a so called structural democracy theory where “the development of human beings lies in their relations to each other. Human beings are social individuals that together carry social development [...]. In the interaction between individuals, who consist of a dominating upper class and a dominated lower class, the division of society into class will be the source to understanding of relations between humans” (Held, 2005, pp. 156-157. My translation).

Another picture of the notion democracy is presented by Grannäs (2011). He argues that it is a notion that in its ground is disputed although there is a historical basic definition: “democracy is a form of a common practice of power by equal citizen” (pp.11-12. My translation).

A third way of approaching democracy, and this time developed just in relation to curriculum analysis, is the definition by Apple (2006) “[t]he meaning of democracy is just as ambiguous in our own times, and the rhetorical convenience of that ambiguity is more evident than ever” (p.6). Furthermore Apple argues that democracy can be supportive to movements about human rights, freedom of speech and the right to vote. Yet there exists also another side to democracy where “democracy is also used to further the causes of free market economies and school-choice vouchers, and to defend the dominance of major political parties. We hear the democracy defence used countless times every day to justify almost anything people want to do: ‘Hey, we live in a democracy, right?’” (p.6).

In Sweden there are voices who claim that the approach to democracy has changed dramatically during the last 30 years and that this is particularly clear in the educational reforms (Helldin, 2004). This change has increasingly placed the individual at focus since the notion of democracy more and more is regarded to be built upon the freedom of the individual and all the possibilities of choices. An increased freedom of choice may therefore also consolidate the meaning of the individuals’ background. A conclusion that might lead to the fact that people from lower social classes in a higher extent will be given to choose other educational roads than individuals from the higher social level (Johansson, 2004), which in Beach and Puaca (2014) suggest also seems to be the case.

### **1.4.2 Citizenship**

The notion of citizenship is highly context dependent. Nevertheless, it is often associated with a formal citizenship in a certain society, preferable a nation state. It can also be strongly

connected to the balance between rights and obligations between the citizens and the state. Thus it is very much connected to a certain legal status.

However, citizenship can also be understood from the thought of participation. In this view, an active citizenship is regarded as a way to achieve its civil duties. These characteristics of an active citizenship might differ from time and space. They can be characterised by charity, and voluntary work or a responsibility to help each other. Another way of understanding is in terms of the duty to be active in the labour process and by that contribute to economic growth (Carlbaum, 2012).

A more formal way of define citizenship is to belong to a certain State. (Svenska Akademin, 2013). Yet another definition would be that

Swedish citizenship involves freedoms, rights and obligations. There are today relatively few differences in legal status between Swedish citizens and others. The rights and freedoms that are reserved for Swedish citizens are important, however. Only Swedish citizens have the right to vote in elections to, and are eligible to become members of, the Riksdag. The Riksdag is the foremost representative of the people and it is primarily from the citizens that public power derives its legitimacy. Citizenship is therefore a basis for Swedish democracy. Moreover, certain public appointments and functions, e.g. judges and police officers, are reserved for Swedish citizens. In addition, only Swedish citizens enjoy the unconditional right to reside in Sweden. All in all, Swedish citizenship is, from the perspective of the state, the most important legal relationship between the citizen and the state. The meaning and significance that Swedish citizenship has for the individual can vary. (SFS 2013:29, 2013)

Citizenship may act as an ideal of inclusion and equality, but however, it may also create a conflict around democratic values since citizenship also involves a sort of exclusion. It needs an exclusion of the *others* to create a *we*, and by that control those who belong and those who do not (Carlbaum, 2012). In a sense it is not really possible to talk of a place connected to an identity unified about a certain idea of the common good, as Mouffe (1988) claims; “[b]ut we are in fact always multiple and contradictory subjects, inhabitants of a diversity of communities [...] constructed by a variety of discourses and precariously and temporarily sutured at the intersection of those positions” (p.44).

### **1.4.3 Participation**

Participation is a noun defined as the action of taking part in something (oxford dictionaries, 2014). It is also defined as being in partial possession of something; to own a minor part of something, have a share in something; become involved in something; together with others take part in something; show sympathy or compassion for something or someone (Svenska Akademin Ordbok, 2014).

With this as an introduction, I would like to advance the arguments by claiming the purpose of the study.

## **1.5 Purpose and research questions**

As stated earlier, the Swedish educational system has experienced reforms and transformations concerning both directions and content. It is therefore of value to investigate

these changes as they might reflect a discursive struggle for the meaning and purpose of education in Sweden.

However, the contemporary testimony regarding education is not isolated from yesterday's, hence, by conducting a genealogical and diachronic study of the policy documents; I am aiming at analysing the eventual discursive changes regarding education, emphasising the educational aim in helping the individual find uniqueness in order to enable participation in responsible freedom. I would claim that such a study is of great interest and significance as it might reflect a discursive struggle about the meaning of education and the construction of the uniqueness of the individual.

Taking a stance within critical research, I will frame my purpose in focusing on discursive changes in relation to the fact that education in some way consists of social control which contributes to shape the individual into a certain social structure (cf. (Berner et al., 1977; Sjöberg, 2011; Gabrielsson, 2012). In that perspective it becomes relevant to introduce the theory of *habitus* (Berner et al., 1977; Bourdieu, 1993; Jenkins, 2007) as an illustration of how this social control might be exercised, and create a sort of normalisation in the behaviour of the individual, which might affect the possibility to participate as a member of the Swedish society.

Being critical involves making judgements and decisions about the engaged literature and earlier research concerning the actual questions. By being critical and see what research has contributed with and discussing it in a constructive manner, creates an evaluative frame in order to broaden the research field and provide with new or different insights (Kamler & Thomson, 2006).

As a supportive sociological epistemology, I will use critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1995) to enable the problematisation of possibilities for the individual to create uniqueness and to participate in society.

The purpose is double-barrelled. Partly the investigation has an aim to make a diachronic **analysis** and critically discuss discursive changes regarding educational reforms and paradigm shifts, and partly the purpose is to study the effects of these changes.

- What discursive changes can be identified within the educational regimes during the time period of 1969 – 2011 concerning participation and citizenship?
- How may these changes have affected the production and reproduction of social capital within the educational system

Discourses always work ideologically, therefore the research focus thus should always be pointed at both practitioners that construct worldviews as social subjects and relations, and towards the role these constructions play in the advancement of certain social groups' interest. (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000). By this I claim, and with departure and support within literature, that discourse in our policy documents has an ideological aspect, plus that my research should be pointed at all agents involved.

## **2 Theoretical framework and approach**

The understanding of education can be said to always represent assumptions about the aim, purpose and mission of education. Furthermore, this includes who is to be involved in education, the body of knowledge that is to be taught, in what way and to whom. Taking a critical stance, assuming that reality is created and shaped by social, political, cultural and economic forces, language plays a vital part in the formation of uniqueness and citizenship. In a way, our conceptual system and how things are defined are created through language, as it is crucial for how we give meaning to social relations and praxis, i.e. how we look at the world and ourselves. Language is constructed in relation to something, both including and excluding praxis, by which we can understand and interpret our surrounding world.

Out of these ontological and epistemological assumptions, discourse analysis constitutes a central part in the present study. The following parts present and discuss my three theoretical approaches, their relationship and how they together establish the theoretical and methodological framework to enable the analysis.

### **2.1 Critical theory**

Critical theory is a theory that doesn't form a unity, i.e. it does not mean the same thing to all its followers. The tradition of critical thinking, in this sense, is divided into at least two branches; the late Frankfurt School and the work of Jürgen Habermas from the 1960s onwards and the early Frankfurt School centred around the Institute for Social Research from 1923 to the early 1940ies, with key figures such as Max Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno and Herbert Marcuse (Held, 2004)

The early Frankfurt School placed history at the centre of their approach to philosophy and society, but with the purpose to embrace the future possibilities. Inspired by Marx, they were preoccupied with the forces which moved society towards rational institutions that would offer a free and just life. However, being aware of obstacles to radical change, what Beach (1999) refers to as 'ruins' they were concerned both with interpretation and transformation.

The work of the critical theorists rotates around a number of critical dialogues with important past and contemporary philosophers, social thinkers and social scientists. The Frankfurt School was inspired by Marx, Hegel, Weber and Freud, among others, while Habermas derived more into various traditions of Anglo-American thoughts in linguistics and philosophy.

For both branches, the motivation is to lay the foundation for an exploration of questions concerning the "conditions which make possible the reproduction and transformation of society, the meaning of culture, and the relation between the individual, society and nature" (p. 13). By examining the contemporary social and political issues, critical theory can contribute to a critique of ideology and the development of a non-authoritarian and non-bureaucratic politics.

### 2.1.1 Historical context and character

In order to understand the axes on which critical theory developed it is important to recognise the turbulent events which were at the root of its founders' historical and political experience (Held, 2004). Up to the beginning of World War I, class conflict was successfully contained by the German nation-state and by the international industrial and capitalist nations. However, during the next twenty years there was an explosion of events which shook many of Europe's oldest political systems, and the unity and revolutionary practice seemed within reach (Held, 2004). Nevertheless, the following years became a massive change for the revolutionists as their protagonists gained more and more power with its culmination in the fascist of Mussolini and Franco, which can be said to be the end of an era for those committed to the struggle against capitalism in Germany, Italy and Spain

Thus, for those inspired by Marx, but shaken by the pre-war events, fundamental questions still needed an answer. "How could the relationship between theory and practice now be conceived? Could theory preserve hope for the future? In changing historical circumstances how could the revolutionary ideal be justified?" (Held, 2004, p. 16). In order to attempt to address these problems, Georg Lukács and Karl Korsch opened up new perspectives in Marxism. What they did was to challenge orthodoxy and rethought Marxism in relation to contemporary events, and by that creates a basis for a re-examination of Marxist theory and practice. Lukács argued the standpoint of the proletariat and, consequently, Marxism transcends the one-sidedness and distortions of other social theories and class ideologies.

For the proletariat is the class on whose genesis capitalist society rests. The process of its own *bildung* [...] is the key to the constitution of capitalism. As the pivot in the capitalist totality it has the capacity to see and comprehend the essential social relations and processes. (Held, 2004, p. 17)

One of the barriers to revolutionary consciousness, according to Lukács, is *reification*<sup>1</sup> and he tried to show how reification permeates all spheres of life, as it reduces social relations into thing-like relations by reducing the worker and his or her product to commodities. Lukács wanted to analyse, assess and criticise this, as the problem of commodities of reification was "the central structural problem of capitalist society in all its aspects" (Held, 2004, p. 18)

It is evident that critical theorists retained many of Lukács' concerns, such as the interplay between history and theory, the importance of theory as a promotive factor in the development of the masses, the relation of production and culture, the effects of reification and the way each aspect of society contains within itself a possibility of untangling the social totality.

### 2.1.2 Critical research being negative or not?

Many claim that critical theory is a negative theory and approach to look at the world. And, in a way, it can be regarded as negative because of its rejections of Kant's transcendental methods and various aspects of Hegel's philosophy concerning reason unfolds in practice

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<sup>1</sup>Reification in marxist theory is an objectification of social relations. The anonymous relations between producers and consumers, capital owners and workers on the capitalistic market leads to a state where these relations seem to be relations between things – not as dominance – and sub ordinance relations between individuals. Human beings are seen as objects, and their value is measured with their trading value (<http://www.ne.se>, 2013. My translation).



reconciling thought and object, freedom and necessity (Held, 2004). Moreover they were critical of the materialist identity propagated by orthodox Marxists, i.e. “history could not be read as the manifestation of economic laws inexorably moving its carriers towards socialism or communism, a state in which the subject is enveloped by the objective workings of history” (Held, 2004, p. 19).

There can be no formula which lays down once and for all the relationship between the individual, society and nature. Though history cannot be seen as a uniform unfolding of human nature, the opposite fatalistic formula that the course of events is dominated by necessity independent of Man is equally naïve. (p.20)

Hence, there were a unity in the rejection of the positivist understanding of science and a correspondence theory of truth (Held, 2004). However, critical theorists are not only concerned with explicating and remembering the past, they also contribute with new emphases and ideas in their conception of theory and practice. For instance, the defence of personal gratification by Marcuse, i.e. individual self-emancipation as a fundamental alternative to the existing relationship between humanity and nature, constituted a significant departure from traditional Marxist doctrines (Held, 2004). In fact, Marcuse, Horkheimer and Adorno, as well as later on, Habermas, had as their belief that the process of liberation entails a process of self – emancipation and self – creation which can be seen as a positive dialectic. The time aspect entered in their conception as a crucial dimension because of its historical relation determined by a world in development and change.

### **2.1.3 Immanent critique**

As a methodological extension of critical theory I will use immanent critique as an analytic tool. Immanent critique is an ideologically critical method with the roots in Marx and Hegel a predecessor to critical discourse analysis. The method reveals needs and hidden interests in order to judge their claims. It reconstructs theoretical and political positions, examines their immanent contradictions and reflects upon their truth, in particular regarding their social significance. It transforms Marx's critique of political economy into a broader critique of domination. The Enlightenment ideal of emancipation becomes the standard for criticism in every sector of life under consumer capitalism and state socialism (cf. Antonio, 1981; Gabrielsson, 2012).

According to Marx, immanent principles are necessary weapons in the struggle for progressive social change as they provide a basis for critique within historical reality. The method can be said to detect the social contradictions which offer the most determinate possibility for an emancipatory social change. Hegel claims that immanent critique aims to demystify the human construction of history. It is immanent because of its critical standards that are given in a historical process. Thus, it is a means of restoring actuality to false appearance by first describing “what a social totality holds itself to be and then confronting it with what it is in fact becoming” (Antonio, 1981, p. 338). Hence, immanent critique attacks social reality from its own standpoint, and at the same time criticises the standpoint from the perspective of its historical context.

Horkheimer argues that immanent critique describes the dialectic in history which is driven by the contradictions between ideology and reality. Elites attempt to stall change by denying these contradictions; they portray a false unity of the ideal and real. However, the greater the ideological claims, the more dangerous they become to their social context. Immanent critique seeks, by revealing the contradictions of

claim and context, to transform legitimations into emancipatory weapons. The goal is to replace the inaction based on the false correspondence with emancipatory praxis aimed at making the ideal real (p.338).

The basis of Marx's immanent critique is the emphasis on the contradictions between concrete social formations and their ideologies. And like Hegel, Marx argues that immanent contradictions will ultimately lead to an emancipatory terminus.

## 2.2 Hermeneutic approach within educational sociology

Since I am conducting a study with a genealogical and diachronic approach, a holistic epistemology is needed in order to achieve an understanding for the connection between phenomena. Hermeneutics is the interpretation and understanding of certain phenomenon. It involves empathy for other individuals and their thinking and action. A core theme is the concept of totality and the notion that the meaning of any part of that totality can only be understood if it is connected with the wholeness (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). This is realised through the hermeneutic spiral which is built upon the pre-understanding, a central notion explained as we don't just experience reality through our senses, but also very much by interpreting it (Thurén, 1991). The pre-understanding is essential; everything we experience and live is grounded in our pre-understanding. With the hermeneutic spiral our pre-understanding and preconceptions are constantly changed and developed with new understanding as a result. Thus pre-understanding is developed from prejudices into real understanding.

Critical theory is characterised to interpretation in combination with a critical challenge of a realised social reality, which can be named a critical hermeneutic (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 1994). Furthermore, critical theory has a certain connection to hermeneutics as it can be described as a form of triple hermeneutics. Hermeneutics can be divided into *simple hermeneutics* meaning a single individual's interpretation of itself and its subjective reality. *Double* means when the researcher puts him or herself into this reality, which can be seen as an interpretation of interpreting individuals. The *triple* hermeneutic, which will be of use in my study, is a critical interpretation of patterns which in various ways affect both the investigated phenomenon as the way the researcher interprets his or hers own situation. In this phase the researcher seeks to observe unconscious processes, ideologies, power relations and other forms of dominance - which means that certain interests are being emphasised more than others (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000).

In my study and because of the hermeneutic approach, I will mainly use inductive conclusions, as I will be drawing my conclusions out of empirical facts, and not logical reasoning. However, it is important to state that an inductive conclusion never can be a hundred per cent certain; as it is built on material that can never consist of a complete recitation (Thurén, 1991).

## 2.3 Discourse theory as methodology

Discourse as a notion has various complex definitions. It can be ways of talking, categories and concepts connected in temporary systems of meaning, through which we construct our surrounding world." Discourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, where and with what authority. [...] We do not speak a discourse, it speaks us. We are the subjectivities, the voices, the knowledge, the power relations that discourse constructs and allows" (Ball, 2006, p. 48).

Discourse is not only speech and writing, but rather speech and writing are themselves internal components of discursive totalities (Carlbaum, 2012). As language use is imbricated in social relations and processes which systematically determine variations in its properties, including the linguistic forms which appear in the text. Moreover, language is a material form of ideology, and language is invested by ideology (Fairclough, 1995).

[d]iscourse is shaped by structures, but also contributes to shaping and reshaping them, to reproducing and transforming them. These structures are most immediately of a discursual/ideological nature – orders of discourse, codes and their elements such as vocabularies or turn-taking conventions – but they also include in a mediated form political and economic structures, relationships in the market, gender relations, relations within the state and within the institutions of civil society such as education. (p.73)

### **2.3.1 A Laclauian approach to discourse theory**

By combining and adjusting Marxism and structuralism, Ernesto Laclau and his collaborator Chantal Mouffe have constructed a discourse theory where Marxism provides a starting point for thinking about the social, supported by structuralism which gives a theory of meaning. Doing so, a single poststructuralist theory is created in which the whole social field is understood as a web of processes creating meaning. Discourse theory has an overall idea that social phenomenon are never finished or complete. The meaning can never be absolutely total or finished, which opens the way for a constant social struggle about definitions of society and identity, with social effects as a result (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987).

In relation to my present investigation, the Laclauian approach becomes most significant as it claims that there is no given subject with a clear identity determined by social structure. Identity is constructed through actions of identification where the subject is incomplete, not free but yet not totality determined (Laclau, 1990).

Identities are created through discourses that both becomes a limitation and a possibility for the individual's action spaces and identifications. The possibilities for action are determined by discursive created positions, where not all positions can be occupied in all possible ways by anyone. Through discourses we are provided with specific rules for how to relate with certain circumstances, regulating what is to be said, how it is said and from where something is said (Carlbaum, 2012). The subject is constructed as appurtenant or deviant, as a resource or a problem, and as more or less responsible for these problems.

However, that doesn't mean that subject only is to be identified with one position. Different accreditations might delimit what positions are to be possible at different occasions, as discourses are being coincidentally both sealed and hegemonised. By that discourses are seen as something that interpellate or appeal, and in a way indicate desirable behaviours and actions (Althusser, 1971). More explicitly, discourses enable the legitimations of certain behaviours that are regarded as more desirable than others through its positioning.

As my study emphasises discursive changes and the struggle for meaning within educational politics, the thoughts about articulation become relevant. When investigating struggle for meaning, it is necessary to discuss how discourses are maintained, created and changed during time. The shaping, reproduction and discursive changes are done by articulation. Laclau and Mouffe define that by "any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice" (Carlbaum, 2012, p. 22), as well as construction of nodal points that partly fixate meaning (cf. Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Howarth, 2007).

Regarding articulation, Laclau and Mouffe differ from other discourse theorists in the sense that systems of social relations are not seen as pure linguistic phenomena as a discursive structure is an articulatory praxis that constitutes and organises social relations (Howarth, 2007). An example of a discourse, according to Laclau and Mouffe is the ideas, politics and actions of Thatcherism. That wasn't only just ideas of freedom, monetarism and law and order, but also inculcated certain praxis, like strong leadership and entrepreneurship, and was an aim to transform institutions and organisations. Another important difference from Laclau and Mouffe and the other theorists, is how they question the closure of the linguistic model, which reduces all elements down to the inner elements in a system, what results in every social act repeating an already existing system of meanings and praxis. Thus, it becomes impossible to construct new nodal points to create meaning, which is the main characteristics within an articulatory praxis.

[W]e will call *articulation* any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call *discourse*. The differential positions, insofar as they appear articulated within a discourse, we will call *moments*. By contrast, we will call *element* any difference that is not discursively articulated. (Laclau, & Mouffe, 2001. p.105)

Laclau and Mouffe suggests a focus on the specific expressions in their capacity as articulations as a first concrete point for discourse analysis. In order to answer what meanings they establish by positioning elements in particular relationships, and what they exclude, the articulations can be investigated in relation to the discourse by addressing specific questions such as; what discourse or discourses does a specific articulation draw on? And what discourses does it reproduce? To answer these questions it is necessary to identify the nodal points i.e. what signs have a privileged status, and how are they defined in relation to the other signs in the discourse? By doing so, it enables the identification of how other discourses define the same signs (floating signifiers) in alternative ways. If examining the competing ascriptions of content regarding the floating signifiers, we can identify the struggles over meaning. That will lead to mapping the partial structuring by the discourses of specific domains (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

However, discourses are never totality fixated as that would mean that nothing can change. The fact that certain discourses still gain a sort of dominance and are temporarily fixed is named hegemony (Carlbaum, 2012). The hegemonisation of discourse implicates that its system of meaning in the shape of values and representations of the surrounding world are regarded as natural, true and given. It is something that conceals the socially coincident and appears as given and unchangeable. What we can see is how dominant discourses might reduce meanings of certain notions and temporarily fix them in what are seen as natural truths. In other words, an unambiguous relation is created regarding notions that earlier have been open and multifaceted, and over which there has been a struggle of comprehensibility.

The Laclauian approach also emphasises dislocations within discourses. The hegemony in a discourse is always regarded as temporary, which gives it a sort of fragility if threatened by the excluded. This fragility and the possibilities of change is enabled when an event or an alternative articulation, which doesn't completely fit in a dominant system of meaning, emerges. The dislocation force the subject to either act, or return to the dominant position, identification or system of meaning, or to rephrase this identification. The result of these dislocations is that they can lead to changes and, more or less, give room for alternative views, which might lead to dislocations of meaning or restructuring of discourses (cf. Laclau, 1990; Howarth, 2007; Carlbaum, 2012). What Laclau is doing is that he uses dislocation to

introduce an extradiscursive dynamic in his conception of society, and he draws the conclusion that post-modern society is experiencing an increasing tempo of dislocations. This is explained by processes such as commodification, bureaucracy and globalisation, which can all be regarded as contemporary manifestations of what the marxist tradition calls a combined and irregular development (Howarth, 2007).

As my investigation has an diachronic approach I see a natural connection to discourse analysis since discourses within educational politics are always historically specific and temporary (Carlbaum, 2012). Another strong connection between discourse and the present study is how educational politics and its system of meaning consists of different subject positions, which put boundaries between who is to be included and who is to be excluded in the participation as a citizen, but also between desired and deviant characteristics and skills.

### **2.3.2 Critical discourse Analysis**

Power is a central concept in critical discourse studies. That is, a critical approach to discourse analysis recognises that inquiries into meaning making are always an exploration into power (Rogers, 2011). It is a fact that many of the problems addressed in research have to do with power and inequality. Regarding Critical Discourse Analysis, there are various approaches derived from the works of Kress, Hodge, Fowler and Trew (1979). They have influenced a variety of scholars to approach the problematic of language and society. Some of the more respected fields would be Discourse –Historical method, Systemic Functional Linguistics, Socio-cognitive studies, French Discourse Analysis, Social semiotics and Critical Ethnography of communication.

The field I will concentrate on and use in my investigation is the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) associated with Fairclough as it can connect to my theoretical framework because of its focus on language and social change in relation to power, hegemony and constructions of individuals (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Even though Fairclough stresses that discourses take part in constructing social identities and social relations, he is not entirely neglecting the social psychological aspects, but they are the weakest element of his theory. Laclau and Mouffe, on the other hand provides insight into the discursive construction of groups, so combining Fairclough and Laclau and Mouffe can help to avoid shortcomings as well as strengthen the chosen methodology for the present study. According to Fairclough (2003) only analysing text is rather a limited analysis and should be complemented by other methods in order to see and evaluate causes and ideological effects from a text. When looking at how the text is reproduced it is important to look at the differences in e.g. grammar and how the language is used in different times and spaces. What you see in a text is quite depending on the perspective you choose to take concerning social questions, social theories and different discourse theories (Fairclough, 2003).

Textual description and analysis should not be seen as prior to and independent of social analysis and critique – it should be seen as an open process which can be enhanced through dialogue across disciplines and theories, rather than a coding in the terms of an autonomous analytical framework or grammar. (Fairclough, N., 2003, p.16)

Moreover, as language and discourse not constitutes everything, according to Fairclough (2003) and to gain a greater understanding for social effects, it is necessary to investigate what happens when people talk and write, i.e. a combination of CDA and a more psychological discourse analysis might be fruitful. CDA deals with continuity and changes in an abstract, structural level, as well as what is happening in a text. In other words we find a

distinction between discourse and ‘doing’, while Laclau and Mouffe regard discourse as a totality consisting of both notions. Hence my choice of combining Laclau & Mouffe to CDA as I find it beneficial to partly look at the specifics in a text as well as look at the totality of a text from a critical point of view.

I have chosen not to study and incorporate the theories and concepts of Michel Foucault. Although CDA and the Foucauldian discourse analysis have many similarities, in this particular study, CDA appears to be more beneficial because of the strong connection to textually – orientated discourse analysis, which Foucault lacks. Foucault also appears to have a more one-sided perspective on structures than CDA instead of the relation between structures and practice, which limits his work, but strengthens the work of Fairclough. Another strong reason to the preference of Fairclough is his focus on questions concerning social change, such as the problematic of globalisation, neo-liberalism, new capitalism and the knowledge economy. This is conducted through the key concepts *orders of discourse*, *interdiscursivity* and *dialectics*.

What Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) does is to provide tools for applying the complexity of movement across educational sites, practises and systems. Before I present the actual tools, I would like to go a bit deeper into the structure of the notion beginning with *critical*. In accordance with Blommaert (2005) who suggests that CDA should provide an analysis of the effects, the outcomes, what power does to individuals or groups and how this impact comes about, Fairclough claims the value in considering power such as “the power to, power over and power behind” (Rogers, 2011, p. 4).

*Discourse* is the way to identify how meanings are always embedded within a social, historical, political and ideological context. Fairclough (1992) understands discourse as the relationship between power and the social world.

Discourse as a political practice establishes, sustains and changes power relations, and the collective entities (classes, blocs, communities, groups) between which power relations obtain. Discourse as an ideological practice constitutes, naturalises, sustains and changes significations of the world from diverse positions in power relations. (Fairclough, 1992, p. 67).

*Analysis* can be made from various perspectives; what is important is that analyses are connected to a theory of the social world and a theory of language that is coherent. Three of the most influential traditions of analysing discourse are those of Gee, Fairclough and Kress. Because of the aims with my investigation, I argue for the perspective of Fairclough as he emphasises the interdiscursive relationship between and within domains, i.e. between and among genres, discourses and styles, and the social world (Rogers, 2011).

### 2.3.3 Fairclough’s three-dimensional model

Since discourse contributes to the construction of social identities, social relations and systems of knowing and meaning (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002), it has three major functions:

- Identity function
- Relational function
- Ideational function<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> With the help of language we can build representations of reality and categorise and reflect upon these representations (Halliday, M.A.K., 2002).

These function will be examined thoroughly further on in my study. However, to be able to conduct a discourse analysis according to the perspective of Fairclough, it is necessary to focus on two dimensions (Fairclough, 1995):

1. **The communicative event** - a particular newspaper, editorial or television documentary or other communicative events. The concern is always with both continuity and change. In what ways is this communicative event normative, drawing upon familiar types and formats, and in what ways is it creative, using old resources in new ways.
2. **The order of discourse** – the general and overall structure of the order of discourse, and the way it is evolving in the context of social and cultural changes. The focus here is upon the configuration of genres and discourses which constitutes the order of discourse, the shifting relationships between them, and between this order of discourse and other socially adjacent ones.
  - a) **Genre** is a use of language associated with and constituting part of some particular social practice, such as interviews, news or advertising genre.
  - b) **Discourse** is the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view. Examples of orders of discourse include the order of discourse of the media, the health service or an individual hospital. Within an order of discourse, there are specific discursive practices through which text and talk are produced and consumed or interpreted (cf. Fairclough, 1995; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

The key to Fairclough's model is that he applies the concept of discourse in three different ways; the specific text, the institutional discursive practice and the sociocultural practice (Sjölander Egan, 2011). This means that every instance of language use is a communicative event consisting of

- A text (speech, writing, visual image or a combination of the three)
- A discursive practice which involves the production and consumption of texts
- A social practice

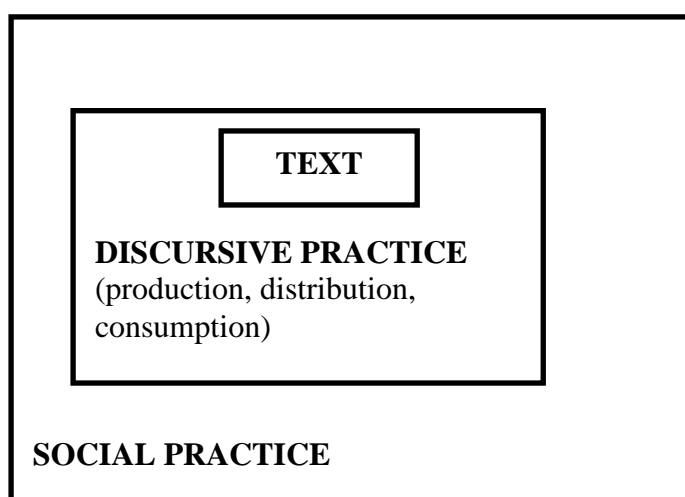


Figure 2 Three-dimensional conception of discourse (Fairclough, 1992, p. 73).

Fairclough places the text at the centre, the discursive practice as mediating between the textual and the social and cultural respectively. He does this in order to examine how texts work within sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1995). This model is an analytical framework for empirical research on communication and society, and all dimensions need to be covered

in a specific discourse analysis (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). However, it is significant that the analysis focuses

- 1) The linguistic features of the text
- 2) Processes relating to the production and consumption of the text (i.e. discursive practice)
- 3) The wider social practice to which the communicative event belong (i.e. social practice).

Text analysis concentrates on four main headings; vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure, in an ascending scale where vocabulary deals with individual words → grammar deals with words combined into clauses and sentences → cohesion with how clauses and sentences are linked together → text structure deals with large-scale organisational properties of texts (Fairclough, 1992).

As the relationship between texts and social practice is mediated by discursive practice, it is only through discursive practice that texts shape, and is shaped, by social practice. Discourses and genres which are articulated together in order to produce a text; have a specific linguistic structure that shapes both the production and the consumption of the text (Fairclough, 1992; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Because of this, the analysis of a communicative event thus includes

- analysis of the discourses and genres which are articulated in the production and the consumption of text (the level of discursive practice)
- analysis of the linguistic structure (the level of the text)
- considerations about whether the discursive practice reproduces or, instead, restructures the existing order of discourse and about what consequences this has for the broader social practice (the level of social practice)

Concerning analysis of discursive practice it is necessary to involve a combination of 'micro-analysis' and 'macro-analysis'.

The former is the sort of analysis which conversation analyst excel at: the explications of precisely how participants produce and interpret texts on the basis of their members' resources. But this must be complemented with macro-analysis in order to know the nature of the members' resources (including orders of discourse) that is being drawn upon in order to produce and interpret texts, and whether it is being drawn upon in normative or creative ways (Fairclough, 1992, p. 85).

Because of the mutual requisites, micro- and macro-analysis mean that the dimension of discursive practice in the three-dimensional model can mediate the relationship between social practice and text: "it is the nature of the social practice that determines the macro-processes of discursive practice, and it is the micro-processes that shape the text" (p.86).

The third dimension in the model, social practice, is related by Fairclough to ideology and power, and is strongly influenced by Althusser and Gramsci. Ideology invests language in many ways at many levels, and we don't have to choose between different possible locations of ideology. However, the key issue is "whether ideology is a property of structures or a property of events, and the answer are both" (p.88). Fairclough continues by raising the question whether all discourse is ideological, and answers that "[i]deologies arise in societies characterised by relations of domination on the basis of class, gender, cultural group [...] and in so far as human beings are capable of transcending such societies, they are capable of transcending ideology" (p.91). Gramsci's concept of hegemony harmonises with Fairclough in the sense that it is a focus of constant struggle around points of instability between classes and blocs, which takes economic, political and ideological forms. Moreover,



hegemony provides both a matrix and a model for discourse. A matrix, as a way of analysing the social practice in terms of power relations in terms of whether they reproduce, restructure or challenge existing hegemonies. But also a model as a way of analysing discourse practice as a mode of hegemonic struggle, reproducing, restructuring or challenging existing orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1992).

The analysis on my study will build on the principles of the three-dimensional model combined with some of the linguistics tool suggested by Fairclough (1992):

- **Modality** – a major dimension of discourse which focus on the speaker's degree of affinity with or affiliation to his or her statement. Modality is traditionally associated with the modal auxiliary verb such as *must*, *may*, *can*, *cannot* and *should*, which indicates the degree of modality. Modality may be subjective i.e. that the subjective basis for the selected degree of affinity with a proposition may be made explicit – or it may be objective, where the subjective basis is left implicit. The use of objective modality often implies some form of power. The chosen modality has consequences for the discursive construction of both social relations and knowledge and meaning systems. *Truth* is one type of modality, which means that the speaker commits him or herself totally to the statement. *Permission* is another example whereby social relations are constructed in terms of how the speaker puts him or herself in a position whereby the receiver is given permission to do something. Furthermore, modality can be expressed by intonation or by *hedges*. Speakers hedge when they moderate a sentence's claim and thereby express low affinity by using for example 'well' or 'a bit'. Different discourses use different forms of modality.
- **Transitivity** – involves the investigation of how relations and processes are connected with subject and object. The interest lies in examining which groups or individuals that are expressed as active or passive *agents*. What individuals are described in the material and what positions are they being given? Are they subject or object? What characteristics are they ascribed? What conceptions and identities are constructed through language, metaphors, choose of wording and grammar?
- **Nominalisation** – is the conversion of a clause into a nominalisation. The agents are being muted by an emphasis on the effects where a noun is replacing the whole process. The agents behind praxis are being made invisible through nominalisation, which often signals what is described as the truth.
- **Choice of wording** – as producers we are always faced with choices about how to use a word and how to word a meaning, and as interpreters we are always faced with decisions about how to interpret the choices producers have made. Choice of words in texts expresses certain significance by departing from a specific theoretical perspective and by that put words to an event. Choosing words is not an arbitrarily choice but rather an ideologically loaded one. Another version of choosing wording is *over-wording*, which indicates a preoccupation around a certain appearance from a certain perspective.

The aim of discourse analysis can be said to map out the processes which struggle over the way in which meaning of signs is to be permanent, and the processes by which some of the fixations of meaning become so conventionalised that we regard them as natural (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

## 2.4 Bourdieu's theory of habitus in relation to education

All things are subject to interpretation, whichever interpretation prevails at a given time, is a function of power and not truth." (Nietzsche, 2013). The sociology of education is central to Bourdieu, as well as a general aim in my investigation. Bourdieu's concern to explore how relations of social domination are being reproduced from generation to generation (Nash, 2002). This reproduction is exercised through the command of symbolic violence by dominant social groups in order to perpetuate their regime without "the need for extensive resort to overt violence" (p.28). for this reason the praxis of the educational system's pedagogy always presents a double functionality; a concrete internal learning situation on one hand, and on the other hand we have this technical function as a constant part of external relations which defines it as a social function (Berner, et al., 1977). Bourdieu claims that the traditional educational system actually teaches stunningly little, in a technical sense, due to the fact that the system's true function is subordinate a social function which has as its only purpose to maintain and reproduce a given relationship between the different classes in society (ibid).

A central point in Bourdieu's work is that educational systems are strongly involved in the process of producing, reproducing and maintaining a hierarchical society, and that this process is dependent on factors outside the education system. Habitus plays an important role. Habitus is very much related to the way school and education produces and reproduces social capital. Cultural capital is also important. "Just as our dominant economic institutions are structured to favour those who already possess economic capital, so our educational institutions are structured to favour those who already possess cultural capital, defined according to the criteria of the dominant hegemony" (Harker, 1984, p. 118). This can also be found in Bernstein (1971) when he explains how society selects, classifies, distributes and evaluates the school knowledge that is seen as general and public, which reflects both the power distribution and principles of social control.

What happens is that schools take the cultural capital of the dominant group as the natural sort of capital, and they treat all children as if they had equal access to it. Hence this capital acts as an extremely successful filter in the reproductive processes of a hierarchical society (Beach & Dovemark, 2011). "Poor achievement for different groups in a society then, is not something inherent in cultural difference per se, but is just as much an artefact of the way schools operate as is success for other groups" (Harker, 1984, p. 118)

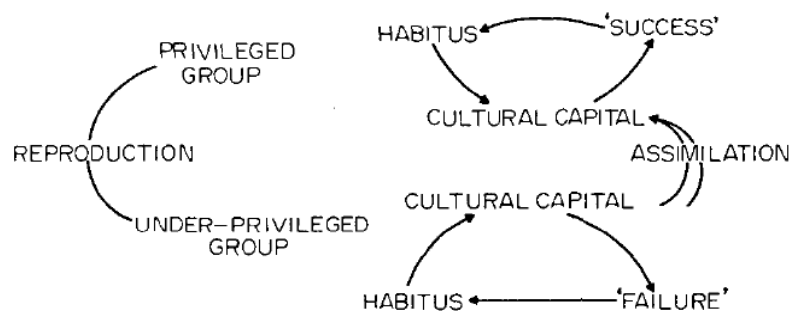


Figure 3 The cycle of reproduction (Harker, 1984, p. 118).

As you can see, it is necessary for an individual from a non-dominant background, to gain the appropriate cultural capital to achieve 'success'. This capital has to be acquired with inevitable consequences for the habitus – consequences called *embourgeoisement* in social class terms, and *assimilation* in cultural or ethnic group terms (Beach & Puaca, 2014). The

educational system facilitates this process of the schooled habitus in the following five levels (Harker, 1984):

1. Non-dominant group children tend to be a low success rate in all sorts of school tests and external examination. Expectations in the group to which children belong are adjusted accordingly and become part of the habitus.
2. Where some success is attained, non-dominant group children and their families tend to make the wrong option choices, which lead to educational (and occupational) dead ends.
3. The further up the system the tendency for schools to recognise only those who recognise them, the *learned ignorance* of schools and selection agents, i.e. the schools reward with 'success' only those students who acknowledge the criteria of that success and the authority of the school and its teachers to dispense it. With the schools embodying only one 'currency' of cultural capital, this has a very powerful assimilationist outcome.
4. The denigration of the academic – the preference for style over content, which is when teachers and examiners look for 'style'. This becomes a product of the habitus of the cultivated class, and can never be fully mastered by those without the appropriate background.
5. Credential inflation. With the spread of higher qualifications (which gives the illusion of increasing opportunities), employers turn to other criteria for selection purposes. These criteria, Bourdieu argues are determined by habitus, including such things as style, presentation, language and so on. The possession of the appropriate habitus then constitutes a form of *symbolic capital* which acts as a multiplier of the productivity of educational capital (qualifications) (pp. 118-119).

Educational or schooled habitus can, as Harker points out be well connected with 'success' or 'failure', as it concerns individuals who are actively learning to work together for instrumental purposes (Lindblad & Popkewits (Eds.), 2001). Considering habitus as structure making and the curriculum and policy documents as instructions and practical tools for realising this structure makes the theory of habitus a most valuable analytic instrument for my present study.

## 2.5 Reflexivity and critique

According to Kamler and Thomson a researcher has to consider that researching is not a neutral or objective act (Kamler & Thomson, 2006), that knowledge is always political and connected with power and that s/he must therefore always look for "the social in the individual account, asking how particular events, categories and assumptions might have been produced through discourse, culture, political affiliations, and/or social practice" (Kamler & Thomson, 2006, p. 66). This is about reflexivity as a means of avoiding taking the ways in which we have narrativised our identities for granted and asking how we might be perpetuating certain kinds of power relationships or advancing particular ways of naming and discussing people, experiences and events. It involves critical self-interrogation and a discursive movement between Fairclough's layer 1 (the text) and layer 3 (social practices) (Kamler & Thomson, 2006, pp. 66-67).

Being a reflexive researcher means applying a critical stance as a mean to enable the exploration of your own subjectivity and become more aware of the impact it may have on research and interpretation (Somekh & Lewin, 2005; Kamler & Thomson, 2006). To do this I have to consider the prerequisites for my own research and critically reflect upon my own thinking, observations, use of language and analysis, interpretations and conclusions to open rather than close research questions and to provide possibilities for understanding rather than establishing a truth (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2008). In my research this means acknowledging that I am also a part of the education discourses and representations I am analysing. I can

never be completely neutral as I am involved in a hegemonic struggle in the process of discussing and characterising dominant discourses, thus taking a reflexive stance is utterly important (Carlbaum, 2012).

There are ethical contemplations to bear in mind here. Fairclough brings up the importance of ethical questions regarding the public use of the results of a discourse analysis claiming that “[t]he researcher needs to recognise that there is a risk that the results may be used as a resource in social engineering” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 88). Being aware of this means I need to take considerations of how the results will be presented and received in order to conduct a scientific study with the purpose to present a scientifically grounded text that can lead to new and progressive knowledge in the area of pedagogy. Three criteria have been of special concern (Thurén, 2013);

<b>Time criteria:</b>	The closer in time the narrator is, the more genuine is the information.
<b>Dependent criteria:</b>	A trustworthy source should not be affected by another source.
<b>Tendency criteria:</b>	The originator’s interest in influencing the opinion.

## 2.6 Literature search

In order to find relevant literature and earlier research I used primarily the search base GUNDA at the Gothenburg University Library complemented by other search bases within the library and Google Scholar. The key words I used for my search were mainly focused on *Critical theory, discourse analysis, Fairclough, Bourdieu, habitus, Laclau & Mouffe, participation, citizenship and curricula analysis*.

The choice of whether a source were relevant or not, was completely a choice of me as an investigator, although I tried to take in consideration reflexivity and the need of presenting a study with as little bias as possible in the result. Nevertheless I am aware of that I might be steered in a certain direction due to my pre-understanding and ideological assumptions.

I am also aware that if I had compared my choice of curricula analysis with other analysis the result would have been more complete, but that is something to be developed in further research and not within the frames of a Master theses.

### 3 Analysis

The analysis will be presented in the form of a periodization divided into three parts. The division of the time periods each represents a dominant discourse regarding education. This method of conducting an analysis has both positive and negative consequences; firstly the division is made by me as a researcher and can therefore be regarded as a construction of my own. By doing so I as a researcher might provide with the comprehension that there exists a very clear and defined division between the different systems of meaning, which could conceal the eventual continuity that might occur.

However, my choice of a certain periodization is more grounded on the wish to enlighten certain shifts and dislocations, and will also enable a destabilisation of the contemporary opinions in relation of perceptions concerning the past, the present and the future. It can therefore be empirically checked.

The investigated curricula and education acts do not have any explicit author, and despite that I am aware that there are one or several authors behind the texts, I will exclusively use the notions *invisible* or *hidden author* in order to demonstrate how, by nominalisation the choice of wording enable a message or an ideological thought to be expressed (Fairclough, 1992). The corpus to be analysed consists of curricula Lgr 69, Lgr 80, Lpo 94 and Lgr 11.

Beside these documents I will use Lgr 62, Education Act of 1962; 1985; 2010 and various Government bills and other relevant texts, to strengthen my analysis and conclusions.

#### 3.1 A school for all moving towards authoritarianism (1969-1980).

The very heart of the education consists of the individual pupil (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969).

Everyone acting within the educational system shall show respect for the individual human dignity and try to seek awareness of its individual distinctiveness and prerequisites, and to encourage its personal maturity in becoming a free, independent and harmonious human being. As the individual is a part of both the national as well as the international community it is important that he or she, already during the years in school, will be given the opportunities to practice how to live and act in the fellowship with others and to prepare for its role as an active citizen in the future society, that more than ever will demand collaboration and solidarity between people. (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969 p.10. My translation)

It is quite clearly stated in the Lgr 69 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969) that the aim of the educational system should rest upon values that encourage the idea of a school for all. These thoughts have their origin in the 1842 Education Statue (SFS 1842:19) when the mass-education

system in Sweden was formally introduced. Eneroth, a Swedish author and opinion maker (Eneroth, O., 1863) stressed a couple of years later the importance of a school for all children, describing that schools should constitute the foundation for further studies for those who show special interest for this, as well as a basis for common foundational knowledge for all (Egelund; Haug & Persson, 2006). Following these ideas, Lgr 69 recommends that the daily work at school should be pointed to all pupils, a heterogeneous group of human beings constantly developing different types of personalities and gifts. This means that the work and organisation must be created in a way that allows every single pupil to utilise his or her capabilities in order to support the personal development. In the process, school has a certain responsibility towards pupils with difficulties caused by physical, psychological or other reasons (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969, p.10).

Looking at the foundational aims and goals within Lgr 69 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969, pp.10-17. My translation) we find nine different formulations:

1. The pupil is the central point
2. Focus on the future
3. A strong connection between home, school and society
4. Focus on personal development in relation to teaching
5. Individual development
6. The pupil's social development
7. The role of the curricula
8. Teaching and ways of working
9. Collaboration for the benefit for the pupil

Out of these points we can identify that the individual is in focus especially in relation to development. What the curriculum calls for and tries to refer to is the individual's ability to develop a variety of human values such as intellectual and emotional development and solidarity.

The notions *individual*, *development* and *collaboration* seem to be a base for a 'good' citizen. All these three notions are used frequently in Lgr 69 especially concerning the major goals and aims, as we notice in the nine foundational goals above.

Significant ingredients in the school's ambition in encouraging the development of the will is to create self-reliance within the pupil, encourage the power of initiative and the ability to work with accuracy and endurance in order to achieve goals and develop the will to collaborate with others. School shall enable a good sense of the values and principles which carry the legal system in our democratic society and be fully aware of the meaning of notions such as justice, honesty, respect and tolerance, and the consequences of crime against laws and prescriptions. School shall, in its own practice, act according to principles and rules, accepted by and in collaboration with the pupils. (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969, p.13. My translation)

When it comes to the notion citizenship, Lgr 69 doesn't directly speak of creating citizens, but rather that the pupils already are members of the society and the educational system has its responsibility to maintain these citizens and steering them into values towards humanity and solidarity (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969, p.10).

School has a mission to support and stimulate every single pupil at the best way possible to assimilate and develop their inherent qualifications

both as sole individual as well as citizens in a democratic society.  
(Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969, p. 10. My translation)

By regarding the pupils as already members of the society, the emphasis lies more on how the daily school work and the relations between teachers and pupils can be beneficial for foundational values such as empathy, tolerance, solidarity and collaboration (p.29).

Social development can be regarded as a major aim in Lgr 69, due to the focus presented above. Moreover this social development also represents a focus on gender - both in the context of family, work places and general society (p.14). The pupils should be encouraged to question and debate current situations in society concerning gender roles. Emphasis is made on the conceptions regarding boys and girls as well as the adult roles among men and women.

Generally the pupils haven't reflected more closely upon or understood what is a gender bound behaviour or expectations. Their choices are yet before school age curtailed by early imprinted interests and assumptions. Therefore education in school has an important assignment to already from the first school year and the following time in school actively inform about actual circumstances and create a conscious debate. In its contact with society and industry that school shall act for the realisation of a more open-minded choice of profession. (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969, pp. 37-38. My translation)

Another big responsibility within school is to create understanding for socially marginalised groups, a view that also should affect the view on other nations and communities. It is important that school contributes in the creation of understanding for individuals less privileged in society and ought to imprint the economic understanding as well. "In these and other suitable contexts, awareness ought to be pointed at economic questions that involve the individual, as well as the society" (p.14. My translation). The very foundation in the education should be to establish and advance characteristics that carry and strengthen the democratic principles concerning tolerance, co-responsibility and equality between people.

"To awaken respect for truth and justice; for human intrinsic value; for the sanctity of human life and thus the right to a personal integrity is a major task. Significant is that the pupils are accustomed in being helpful and co-operative with all people." (pp.14-15. My translation)

Freedom and independence is a necessity in society, but is not supposed to be a goal in itself. Rather it should be the foundation for collaboration and co-operation.

Relating this to the shaping of habitus becomes both interesting and relevant. A central point being made by Bourdieu, according to Berner et al. (1977), is that the strong prioritization of a certain approach within the educational system is very much dependent on outside elements. Because of that we can see how the educational system has been given a sovereign authority, for producing and re-producing specific institutional circumstances, and furthermore how the pupils mechanically and unconsciously assimilate structures of meaning forced upon them by the system.

The individual establishes already at an early stage in life certain fundamental perceptions, thus the habitus is developed in the very early childhood. Nevertheless this does not mean that experiences made later on in life don't have any effect on the shaping of habitus. More likely these latter experiences are constantly being lived, interpreted and incorporated within the individual's world of concepts, according to certain principles yet established in the early life. This circular way of reproduction and confirmation enables the

educational system to efficiently handle its ideological function in cementing inequalities between the society's social classes (Berner et al., 1977).

Although I don't find any clear evidence for proving that Lgr 69 is written from a conflict perspective, you can sense some minor intentions towards that perspective as they express a quite firm standpoint beneficial for social values that supports humanity and solidarity by giving such great importance to the social struggle and advocating a school for all. There is a clear transivity of social solidarity. This is also evident in terms of modality of discourse and choice of wording. It is clearly visible in the salient discourse concerning three major key words; fellowship, solidarity and co-responsibility.

The young people's sense of fellowship, solidarity and co-responsibility thus has to be broadened beyond the borders of family and relatives, friends and school, to embrace yet bigger socially bindings. If the development should be enabled to encourage and establish peace and freedom among the population and bring increasingly conditions to people's life, school needs to create a growing understanding among the young ones for people's life and conditions within other, more far away existing socially bindings and teach them to realise the importance of good relations between people and international collaboration. Thus the schoolwork ought to be totally concentrated on encouraging the pupil's development towards independent citizens with an interest for the surrounding world which will lead to a personal engagement and a sense of international co-responsibility. (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969, p. 15. My translation)

I claim that even though Lgr 69 is not written from a clear perspective of conflict, the text still presents an underlying concern for foundational social conflicts. As the urge for advancing the democratic and human values is rather obvious, so too is the belief that as yet these conditions are not fully apparent. There is a constant appeal for the importance to influence the pupil's ability to be democratic, helpful and solidary individuals as it seems to be a preferable characteristic among the citizens (pp. 14-15).

Even though the political ideology in Sweden during the latest 100 years, for a long period of time, was governed by Social democrats (<http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/4393>, 2014) there has been a constant struggle for power over the educational system (cf. Abrahamsson, 1973; Englund, 1986; Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000).

Power and control over the educational content coheres both with the educational approach to production, and thus how power over the production means is exerted, and with how education historically has resided for different layers of society. Thus a reasonable assumption is how education actively contributes in maintaining a historically developed social condition. (Bernstein & Lundgren, 1983, p. 13. My translation).

However, from the ideals of A School for All, with free minded pupils filled with a sense of solidarity and humanity, there seems to be a change in the intentions concerning the following curriculum, Lgr 80 (Regeringen, 1980). The thing that strikes you first is that the nine goals and aims from Lgr 69 have been reduced in to three

1. Equal education
2. Knowledge and skills
3. Fostering and development (pp.15-18)



What is automatically identified is the change of emphasis from the former intention of installing human values into a more knowledge and skills minded approach. Again there is transitive, modal and word choice evidence of this. In the introductory paragraph we read

School has as its major task to provide the pupils with good knowledge and skills. School shall through the daily work at school and together with the parents stimulate the pupils desire to participate in the daily school work, fostering them into responsibility, good working – and leisure habits and to a democratic way of acting. Knowledge, skills, norms and values shall through the care of school be transmitted, not only from one generation to the next, but even be actively adapted and advanced. (Regeringen, 1980, p. 15. My translation)

Not only do we see a change in approach and attitude towards a more knowledge orientated focus, but also a subtle change in the choice of wording. The modality (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002) has been changed from *ought to* used frequently in Lgr 69 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969) into *shall*, which might indicate a slight change in the power exertion. The modal verb *ought to* has a softer, more humble intention than *shall*, which more indicates a command that should be obeyed.

Both Lgr 69 and Lgr 80 have as their point of departure the first paragraph in the Education Act from 1962 (SFS 1962:319).

§ 1 The pursued education of children and young people, through the care of society, has as goal to communicate the pupils knowledge and to practice their skills, and together with the home encourage the pupil's development into harmonious individuals and capable and responsible citizens. (SFS 1962:319).

It becomes relevant to see how the two different policy documents have interpreted the very same paragraph. The discourse about the educational goals and aims has made a slight turn towards an orientation more focused of the individual's knowledge and skills, instead of developing humanity and solidarity. Together with this turn of educational ideology, there has also been a shift in the political ideology towards a more liberal and right wing governing. During 1976 – 1982 Sweden had a government consisting of a coalition between three right orientated parties (<http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/4393>, 2014), which of course might have influenced the interpretation and formation of the curricula.

Lgr 80 (Regeringen, 1980) states quite clearly that “[b]asic comprehensive school is a part of society and expresses a view of society and individual where humans are active, creative and have to take responsibility and seek knowledge in order to, in consociation with others, understand and improve their and their fellow human being's life conditions” (p.15. My translation).

Relating this to Fairclough's model (Fairclough, 1992) we notice that Lgr 80 uses specific linguistics features to communicate a social practice through the discourse. The emphasis is on concepts such as knowledge, skills and fostering. This leads to a desired social practice. This is of course not a specific phenomenon for Lgr 80, but comparing the two curricula gives a clear image of how texts can be used to communicate certain approaches or messages.

Concerning the two curricula certain significance might occur if looking at the publishing authority. Lgr 69 was authorised by the Nation School Authority [*skolöverstyrelsen* in Swedish, my remark], an organ subordinated the government, while Lgr 80 was authorised directly by the government.

Going specifically into the two notions of participation and citizenship, a difference in meaning can be identified within the two curricula. Lgr 69 emphasises the importance of the individual taking an active part in education; “[t]he pupil’s active participation shall at an early stage be aimed at and encouraged, and this pupil activity shall be as independent and richly varied as possible” (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969, p. 16. My translation). This has been changed in Lgr 80 (Regeringen, 1980);

The syllabuses consist of objectives and main elements. In the cases mentioned substance goals and key concepts within different matter areas, which students will gain insight into, and the skills they will practice. In various key moments were the subjects that highlights these key concepts and that pupils should work with, as well as different ways to practice skills. Within a main section has teachers and students in different classes and units of work ability and obligation to choose the work that engages and interests them. It can involve individual tasks or divorced tasks for different groups. [...]. The choice of content is therefore always a tension between student’s immediate perceived needs and interests and the skills they need to run in order to function in society in general.(p. 17. My translation)

What has happened here is that Lgr 80 has turned statements from Lgr 69 towards a more ‘need – for –the –future’ approach. What counts is not so much the individual’s right to participate, but rather that he or she participate in the so called *right way*, in order to serve and be a good citizenship for the future society. This sort of moral authoritarianism updating the moral aspects of education and emphasising fostering a specific moral behaviour, seems to be a quite typical approach within the right wing governments (Apple, 2006 ).

In this context we can talk of two types of orders; the expressive order and the instrumental order (Bernstein, 2003). The expressive order refers to activities along with behaviours in school to do with conduct, character and manner (Ivinson; Davies & Fitz, 2011, p. 158). Children are transformed into pupils who are orientated toward special classes of behaviour (p.159). This instrumental order refers to the acquisition of specific skills, and the more this type of order dominates schools, the more examination-minded and divisive they become (Bernstein, 2003). This sort of disciplining of culture and the body is another example of conservative modernisation, according to (Apple, 2006 ). The objectives in education are the same as those who guide its economic and social welfare goals.

Concerning citizenship in specific there has also been a slight turn in the meaning and intentions. Lgr 69 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969) focuses on a more general aim where school is to offer a foundational education consisting of “skills and knowledge, habits, attitudes and values which are of importance for their personal development and their possibility to influence and live in today’s and tomorrow’s society and function as professionals and citizens” (p.12. My translation).

In Lgr 80 (Regeringen, 1980) there is no clear notion of citizen, but rather a different sort of wording emphasising a more detailed approach, where speaking, reading, writing and doing mathematics are the four basic foundational values for being a proper citizen.

To be able to speak; read, write and count are the foundations for the major work conducted at school and in adult life. [...]. The basic skills have a crucial meaning for forthcoming studies, for labour market, for continuing education and not at least for giving people possibilities to claim their rights in the society.(p.17. My translation)

Pupils already with their first contact with school are described in Lgr 80 as having a certain amount of knowledge and skills, but they are also said to possess inquisitiveness and curiosity. The educational system needs to attach to this with the purpose to lead and steer the seeking of knowledge into essential areas and gradually broaden their perspective and deepen their knowledge. The pupils shall thus receive insight of central notions and contexts which will constitute the foundation for their advancement concerning knowledge. Receiving knowledge is an active and creative process meaning hard work aiming at a certain goal. (p. 16. My translation).

According to Lgr 80 the fostering aspect is inextricably unified with the work of gaining knowledge and skills. “Thus the circumstances under which children and young people assimilate knowledge and skills are important for their upbringing” (p.19. My translation). What is mediated through the text in Lgr 80 is a spirit of the importance of the connection fostering – gaining knowledge and skills. This is expressed through the expectations and demands from the adult which influences the pupils image of themselves as well as their attitudes towards knowledge, work and ethical considerations. “The praxis in school as well as in society is built upon democratic, political decisions. These rules must be obeyed by the pupils as well as by the adults” (p.19. My translation).

The social democratic goals in Lgr 69 have been reduced and other concerns, such as traditionalism, standardisation, productivity, marketisation and industrial needs are given more space. The notion *foster* in Lgr 69 it appears 18 times and in Lgr 80 18 times. However, a change in meaning has caused a major dislocation concerning goal and purpose. In Lgr 69, the main reason for fostering the pupils was to advance influence, co-responsibility, fellowship, honesty, justice and understanding. In Lgr 80, *foster* has developed into characteristics such as knowledge and labour. The discursive changes between Lgr 69 and Lgr 80 may emphasise a sense of *we* and *they*, i.e. *we* being “law-binding, hardworking, descent, virtuous and homogenous” and *they* being “lazy, immoral, permissive and heterogeneous”. Michael Apple make similar statement (1996, pp. 6-7) regarding international curriculum development. In other words, from the perspective of a school for all, with the intention of equal positions and values and a world view that every individual owns equal importance and value, we have moved towards a world view separating individuals into a *we/they* format, emphasising the importance of fostering the pupil into being *we* instead of *they*, i.e. an individual striving for knowledge and skills in order to become a hard working valuable citizen.

### **3.2 A school for knowledge, norms and values (1981-1994).**

During this period government oscillated between right wing parties (1981-1982 and 1991 to 1994) and Social Democrats (1982 - 1991). Lpo 94 (Skolverket, 1994) was produced and published (<http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/4393>, 2014) at the end of the period.

Lpo 94 is a continuation and development of the thoughts in Lgr 80 (Regeringen, 1980), but with a more detailed approach concerning the educational system. The curriculum Lpo 94 not only describes specific goals and guidelines, but also provides with a rather thoroughly presentation of the foundational values of that the Swedish educational system is intended to rest upon (Skolverket, 1994b, pp. 3-7).

The first reformation that took place during this period of time was the making of a new Education Act. The main reason to revising the old Education Act from 1962 (SFS 1962:319, 1962) can be referred to a linguistic review and new techniques of writing, but also a stronger emphasis on children with special needs and their possibilities to acquire education. A third major change is that children, who for various reasons don't follow the compulsory

school attendance, can no longer be forced to school by the police (Regeringen, 1985). The old Education Act of 1962 was divided into an Education Act and School Regulation where the Education Act only consisted of 9 chapters. In the new Act from 1985 the School Regulation is replaced by a prolonged and more detailed Education Act consisting of 15 chapters. The paragraph that underpinned Lgr 69 and Lgr 80 has been changed and replaced

§ 2 All children and young people shall, independent of gender, geographic location, social and economic conditions, have equal access to education in the public educational system which shall be equal, no matter where in the country it exists. The education shall provide the pupils with knowledge and skills and in collaboration with home encourage their harmonious development into responsible people and citizens. The education shall show consideration for pupils who require special support. The school activities shall be designed in conformation with the foundational democratic values. Each and every one who acts within school shall encourage esteem for the self-value of every individual and show respect for our common environment. (SFS 1985:1100. My translation)

The ‘message’ is still rather much the same as in Act of 62; school shall provide the pupils with knowledge and skills in collaboration with their homes, in order to become ‘good’ citizens. The change or difference is the emphasis on equality and children with special needs, which we can see already in the first initial paragraph. Also below:

§ 1 Public education is arranged for children and youth in forms of pre-school, comprehensive school, upper secondary school and various equivalent schools, namely compulsory school for the intellectually challenged, special schools and Saami schools. [...] Furthermore special forms of education arranged by the public exist to assist those who cannot attend school because of illness or other reasons” (SFS 1985:1100. My translation)

The Education Act from 1985 lies as a foundation for the new curriculum Lpo 94 (Skolverket, 1994a). The immediate change with this reform is the name. What was earlier called curriculum for comprehensive school is now changed into curriculum for compulsory educational system. Even though school in Sweden has been mandatory for several years, it becomes interesting to notice this very change in the use of wording. By adding compulsory to the title gives the document an even stronger authority than before.

Yet another change in the new curriculum is that the former goals and aims have been changed once more, from three to eight. The first chapter talks of the fundamental values and tasks of the school while the second chapter describes the goals and guidelines

1. Norms and values
2. Knowledge
3. Responsibility and influence of pupils
4. School and home
5. Transition and co-operation
6. The school and the surrounding world
7. Assessment and grades
8. Responsibility of the schoolhead (Skolverket, 1994b).

Again we see a direct change of wording and the order of the statements. The first goal is norms and values, and even in that short expression we can notice that norms come *before*

values and we might ask whether the intention is to express strengthening the shift toward moral authoritarianism in Lgr 80. If we just look at the words in these eight goals and guidelines there is a sort of hierarchy in the desired outcomes (Fairclough, 1992). Knowledge and skills have been reduced to only knowledge, which might indicate that skills are of less importance in Lpo 94. Further on, as the third goal, we see yet another example of the emphasis of hierarchy in the wording; *responsibility* comes before *influence of pupils*, i.e. responsibility is of greater importance than influence. The use of formulation and how the wording can underpin messages becomes highly relevant from a critical perspective (Fairclough, 1995; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). You could refer to these formulations and choice of wording as some sort of hidden messages (Antonio, 1981). However I claim that the message is not hidden at all, but rather quite clear. The hierarchy in the use of wording establishes a clear message of what is seen as important by the authority.

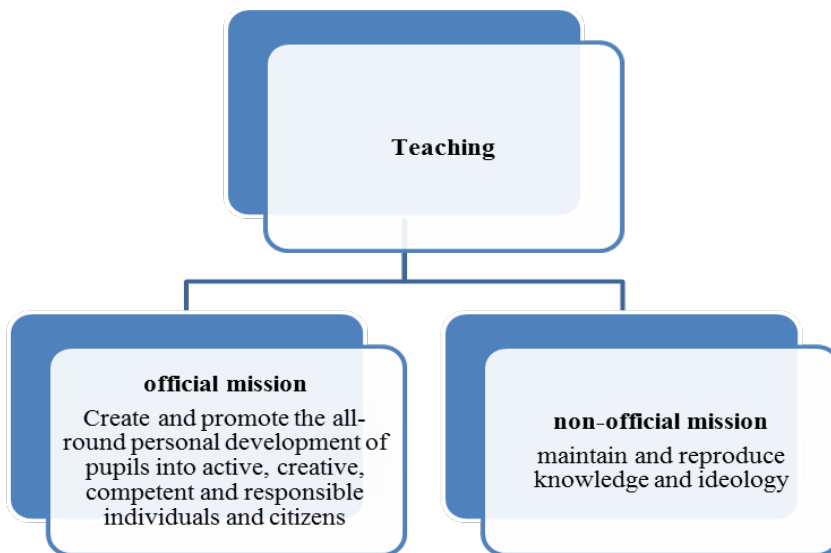
Again we can refer to Fairclough's model (Fairclough, 1992) and state that the way the authors use the text creates a certain discursive practice which results in a certain social practice. Furthermore the use of discourse in order to steer the social practice at a certain direction can be assumed to affect the habitus into a desirable path (Harker, 1984).

The guide line tells us that school shall "support the pupils' ability and willingness to both influence and take responsibility for the social, cultural and physical school environment" (Skolverket, 1994b, p. 14). Connecting participation to the primary goal of norms and values, we could take as a point of departure that the pupils are expected to actively receive and acquire these goals as they constitute a major part in the education. In other words it can be expressed as a targeted type of participation where the pupils are fostered into specific norms and values (Berg, 2003).

As Lpo 94 (Skolverket, 1994b) stresses responsibility in favour of influence this steered habituation is not at all hidden or disguised, but quite obvious; "[d]evelopment of pupil's knowledge and social awareness requires that they take increasingly greater responsibility for their own work as well as for the school environment and that they are also able to exercise real influence over their education" (p.13). Furthermore, the teacher is requested to

1. take as the starting point that the pupils are able and willing to take personal responsibility for their learning and work in school,
2. ensure that all students, independent of social background and regardless of gender, ethnic belonging, religion or other belief, sexual orientation or disability, have true influence over the work methods, work structures, and educational content, and ensure that this influence increases as they grow in age and maturity,
3. work so that boys and girls have equally great influence and participation over their education,
4. be responsible for pupils being able to try different working methods and structures,
5. together with the pupils plan and evaluate the teaching and
6. prepare the pupils for participating in and sharing the joint responsibilities, rights and obligations that characterise a democratic society (p.14)

If we count the words we find that *responsibility* and *influence* appears equal times in the above paragraph; that is three times each. What is salient though is the context they appear. Responsibility refers in this paragraph mainly to characteristics of the teacher. It is his or her task to 'foster' responsible pupils and provide them with influence that is conditioned or sanctioned by a higher authority. In that sense the teacher is reduced into a 'tool' or an instrument more or less, for producing and re-producing desirable ideals.



**Figure 4 The mission of teaching. My figure.**

In this figure we can see the problematic between the explicit and implicit mission of teachers as the non-official assignment isn't expressed in the policy documents, but rather is recognised as a hidden message or hidden agenda. Because of the dehumanising aspect within the non-official mission, as it makes teachers become instruments for performing the hidden agenda, the teachers in a way are being lured into a false sense of professionalism, in order to maintain the interests of society (Fournier, 1999; Evetts, 2006).

Throughout the years, education has been described as a disciplining conduction of power and an ideological government machine where the prevailing social order and worldviews are to be mediated and internalised (Althusser, 1971). Another way of expressing these thoughts is that education, as a social system, constitutes one of the most important individual factors behind social reproduction, i.e. "behind the society's continued population and expansion within the frames that exists at a certain point" (Berner et al., 1977, p. 49. My translation). Nevertheless, education in itself does not create this reproduction, it is the concrete processes and power relations on all levels in society that determine how ideological assumptions are being shaped, upheld and changed (ibid).

In what way cultural production is shaped in a pedagogical process is naturally an expression for how the social context is being formed. To understand this shaping it is of great importance to relate it to a connection in which the pedagogical responsibility is realised, or more accurate, to those who have the power over this reproduction (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000). In a more harsh way, the habituation of being a responsible pupil, while allowing a certain amount of influence, has primarily one and only aim; to foster the pupil into obedience (Berg, 2003). This might be achieved through transmitting the ideology of competition or by training future employees to become submissive to authority (Beach & Dovemark, 2009; 2011), i.e. doing as you're told as a normalisation within behaviour, or by being culturally prepared for a precarious future marginal life (Beach & Sernhede, 2011). This is a way of conducting education; in order to control the individual; 'gives' individuals a set of ideas to understand the world, but they are not allowed to discuss or examine these ideas, only accept and believe in them (Kirby et al., 2000).

From a critical point of view the change in discourse during the period 1981 – 1994 can be seen as evidence for how education is used as a mean for reproducing ideological ideas and ideals. Such ideas were found already 150 years ago, with expressions such how the ruling class is steering education into transforming individuals into plain articles of commerce and instruments of labour (Marx & Engels, 1848/1965). The educational system, as a social

system constitutes one of the most important sole factors behind this kind of social reproduction. From the very beginning to talk of an educational system, you will need to perceive how a new aspect comes forward, namely a clear ideological function (Berner et al., 1977), within a process of cultural production, cultural reproduction and social reproduction which are recurrent and salient factors in the meaning of education. Furthermore, not only are these factors vital, but also necessary for the social existence and development.

- **Cultural production:** Living collective cultural productions that occur on the determined and contradictory grounds of what is inherent and what is currently suffered through imposition, but in a way which is nevertheless creative and active. Such cultural productions are experienced as new by each generation, each group and person.
- **Cultural reproduction:** Designates how we may perceive – through complex ideological and cultural processes, certain essential features to be continuous with, and tend to reproduce limited forms, which predated them but which are now so subjectively inhabited as to provide a sufficient basis for actual decisions and attitudes which allow the maintenance of capitalist production.
- **Social reproduction:** The results of cultural production which direct us toward general features of relationship of class or a tight specificity of ‘conditions’ and all the dangers of functionalism that therewith arise. (Willis, 1981)

In what way the cultural production is shaped in a pedagogical process is naturally an expression for how the social context is being formed. To understand this shaping it is of great importance to relate it to a connection in which the pedagogical responsibility is realised, or more accurate, to those who have the power of this reproduction (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000).

By using words such as *participation* in the curriculum, the individual is in a way misled into believing that the political arrangements will enable this participation and that they are being included as active participants of the educational process (Bernstein, 2000). The move toward a higher authoritarianism represents the return to more conservative views on education. We see it in Lgr 80; “[s]chool shall actively and consciously implicate and stimulate children and young people wanting to embrace the foundational values of our democracy and let these be expressed in the practical, daily actions” (Regeringen, 1980, p. 18. My translation). In Lpo 94 conservative ideals are further revived, but in a trend of conservative modernisation where teachers are framed as instruments for reproducing a certain ideal and influencing pupils in a certain direction – and this is done through a quite subtle form of increasing the authoritarianism (Skolverket, 1994b):

- In accordance with the ethics borne by Christian tradition and Western humanism, this is achieved by fostering in the individual a sense of justice, generosity of spirit, tolerance and responsibility. (p.3)
- All who work in the school should uphold the fundamental values that are stated in the Education Act and in this curriculum, and should very clearly disassociate themselves from anything that conflicts with these values. (p.4)
- The school should make clear to pupils and parents the goals of the education, the requirements of the school and the rights and obligations of pupils and guardians. (p.5)
- The school should actively and consciously influence and stimulate pupils into embracing the common values of our society and express these in practical daily action. (p.8)
- The school should take responsibility for ensuring that pupils acquire and develop the knowledge that is necessary for each individual and member of society. This will also provide a basis for further education. (p.9)

This form of moral authoritarianism can be compared to a somewhat Salvationist discourse in Lgr 80 and the more humanist discourse of Lgr 69. Instead of providing possibilities and consideration for the individual in its seeking for becoming a free and harmonious human being, the State expresses that by accepting an authority and be obedient to this impersonal aspect, the individual will find salvation and thus become a good citizen and human being.

### **3.3 A school for the market. A neoliberal turn. (1995 – 2011).**

From the investigated periods of time we can not only see a change towards a greater form of authoritarianism, but also a global turn regarding education. During the last 50 years we can notice a slight turn in relation to what are the prevailing values of democracy, solidarity, equality and humanity into a rather different way of talking of welfare and a school for all. This phenomenon, or rather called a neo-liberalistic ideology, can be regarded as a global project with roots in the USA and Great Britain (Flew, 2010). It became a “principle steering technology in the public sector from the 1970s onwards in the US and Great Britain (called Reagonomics and Thatcherism)” (Beach, 2010, p. 552). The major aim was never expressed in terms of to shift the power and resources to corporations and wealthy elite through privatisation of the public assets and by removing public interest regulations corporations, and tax cuts targeted towards the ones with the highest income (Flew, 2010) but these have been clear outcomes. Today we talk more of a society where welfare and success is built upon an economic development through entrepreneurship. This is manifested, inter alia, in the Lisbon strategy documents from March 2000 (Europarådet, 2013).

During the late 1990s this neo-liberal wave reached the continental Europe and the Scandinavian countries and grew into an omnipresent and active political and economic organisation. This naturally brought effect on the educational system as well as other systems in Sweden, which is clearly viewed in the following reforms that took place during the time period of 1995 – 2011.

The beginning of this period was governed by Social democrats until 2006 when the Right wing parties once took over the governance. At the same time, in 2006, the European Union came up with what they called eight key competences for a life-long learning (Europeiska unionens officiella tidning, 2006).

1. Communication on the mother tongue
2. Communication on a foreign language
3. Mathematic knowledge and foundational scientific and technical competence
4. Digital competence
5. Learn to learn
6. Social and civic competence
7. Ability in initiative thinking and entrepreneurship
8. Cultural consciousness and various forms of expressing culture (europa.eu, 2014)

These competences are foundational for all individuals in a knowledge based society, and give an increased value for the labour market, social unity and an active citizenship, by offering flexibility and adaptability, satisfaction and motivation (europa.eu, 2014). These ideas naturally influenced the Swedish policy regarding education and led to a beginning of a new reformation period of responsibility, flexibility and freedom of choice (Dovemark, 2004).

The base was the systemic shift containing a goal –and result orientated governance of the school that took place in the early 1990s. The outcome of this was the launch of Lpo 94 with a major change concerning the goals and aims. In Lpo 94 we now talk of goals to strive for and goals to achieve. The foundation for these new thoughts were the



curricula committee commission *Skola för bildning* [school for *bildung*] (SOU 1992:94). As an answer to the critique that were raised towards Lpo 94, the right wing government stated that Lpo 94 wasn't clear enough and demanded a more précised and detailed curriculum would increase the pupil's ability to reach the goals.

For Sweden to be a successful country during the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a world-class education and research is demanded as well as an educational system which has the capacity to see the potential in every pupil and student. The reforms and efforts made by the government have as only aim to raise the quality within the education and increase the pupil's knowledge. [...]. (Prop. 2008/09:87)

By using words such as success and world-class a component is introduced that we haven't seen as clear in earlier policy documents, "competitive comparison". Competences commanded by the European Union (Europeiska unionens officiella tidning, 2006) are also introduced. There is an air of competitive globalisation/internationalisation.

Choice of wording offers some proof for a discursive neo-liberal turn in curricula, acts of parliament and government white papers (Bills/Proposition texts). The authorship is invisible in that sense that the actor behind the words is not disclosed to the reader. Instead there is an invisible voice dictating what the school *shall* do, what the pupil *shall* do etc. It never appears that it is the will of an author. Instead the message is laid on the noun *the law* or *the school*. The frequent use of the modal verb *shall* is significant. In Lgr 11 we find *shall* mentioned 84 times in the first two chapters, with this expressing a necessity to impose something on the target group the verb is directed at (which is usually the pupil but also the teacher). The targets can be seen as passive agents in the text who are not actively participating in the curriculum, but are rather expected to passively receive the message in the text and act on it. In that sense you can regard the pupil as a target as *an object in need for enlightenment* of certain messages and instructions according to Lgr 11. This way of using modality as a way of fostering individuals was also present in Lgr 80 (Regeringen, 1980) where one of the three goals was fostering the pupil into desired values and norms. However this has been developed even further in first Lpo 94 and then Lgr 11.

In accordance with the ethics borne by Christian tradition and Western humanism, this is achieved by fostering in the individual a sense of justice, generosity of spirit, tolerance and responsibility. (Skolverket, 1994, p.3; Skolverket, 2011, p. 9). These formulations are not very far from the ones we find in the curriculum of 1962:

Through its ethical fostering school shall give a good sense of the moral norms that have to be valid... and which carry the order of justice in a democratic society. Pupils must be fully aware of the significance of ethical notions such as justice, honesty, concern and tolerance, and of the consequences due to crimes against law and prescriptions (SFS 1962:480, p. 1309. My translation)

Along with the similarity however there is also a dislocation. As opposed to Lgr 62, Lgr 11 gives clear instructions from the invisible author that the fostering is sanctioned by the ethics from the Christian tradition and Western humanism, which is again an evidence for the return to more conservative ideals and obedience (cf. Roosenniit, 1969; Johansson, 2000). According to Lgr 11 teachers shall:

- clarify and discuss with the pupils the basic values of Swedish society and their consequences in terms of individual actions.

- work together with the home in the upbringing of the pupils and clarify the school's norms and rules as a basis for work and co-operation. (Skolverket, 2011, pp. 14-15)

The fostering aspect becomes very clear in the choice of wording by the invisible author when using *clarify* instead of a word with less authority. However, this conservative ideal also illustrates a major immanent contradiction within the policy documents, as although the authoritarianism distributes various orders and regulations for the passive agent to receive and follow these regulations often consist of contradictions such as “[t]he teacher shall take as their starting point that the pupils are able and willing to take personal responsibility for their learning and working environment” (Skolverket, 2011, p. 17.) and “[t]he goals of the school are that each pupil: develops increasingly greater responsibility for their studies, and develops the ability to assess their own results and relate these and the assessments of others to their own achievements and circumstances” (p.19). Moreover the teacher shall “organise and carry out the work so that pupils gradually receive more and increasingly independent tasks to perform, and take greater personal responsibility” (p.16). Moral authoritarianism is combined with consumerist freedom within a new order of conservative modernisation (Dovemark, 2004).

Again I claim that this is evidence for a conservative return in Swedish education policy. We have this invisible author setting up the norms and regulations for the passive agent to follow, which becomes so clear if we repeat once more that school shall “encourage all pupils to discover their own uniqueness as individuals and thereby be able to participate in the life and society by giving of their best in responsible freedom” (Skolverket, 2011, p. 9). And if that wasn't enough, the pupils also have to compete while finding their personality and role.

What we actually see here is policy text formulations that are in line with what is suggested in school ethnographies by Beach and Dovemark (2009) to be the imperative of new right choices in the Swedish educational system and the beginnings of a new educational policy hegemony (Beach and Dovemark, 2011). In the new policy texts the individual's freedom is sanctioned by someone else with a higher authority, i.e. the norms and values of the policy documents are telling the individual what freedom is, and within this framed freedom, the individual is permitted to participate in society (Skolverket, 2011). By using an invisible author and using wordings that are appealing to the reader, the habitus might easier be exposed for effects that will lead into a desired direction. The educational system has the power to force upon the individual certain structures and present them as the only option. This will lead to selection and expulsion of unwanted individuals which are not seen as beneficial for the society. Furthermore, by affecting the habitus, the individual won't or is unable to reveal the powers and forces that underpin the authority (Berner et al., 1977). This is a similar framing of citizenship to that of the traditional labour process (Marx-Arbeitsgruppe Historiker, 2014):

- The worker is working under the control of the capitalist, which provides the work being done quickly and properly, and that no production means are being wasted.
- The labour process is a process between the productions elements bought by the capitalist, namely means for production and human labour force.
- The product of this process belongs to the capitalist and not the immediate producer, i.e. the worker (Marx-Arbeitsgruppe Historiker, 2014, pp.. 32-33. My translation)

Before the launch of the new curriculum, the minister of education expressed that the most important tool for the teacher is to teach and lead the class, and to be able to do so, the teacher has to reposess his or hers place in the classroom (Björklund, 2011). The abolition of

*katederundervisning* [traditional classroom teaching] was critiqued as something central for the '1968 years culture radical left wave' and the minister of education regards the abolition of authority as the main reason for failing school results and increasing gaps between social classes. "The state has the outmost responsibility for the school results in Sweden, and the state ought to carry on a more active normative role" (ibid.).

This may affect the dislocation of meaning concerning *citizenship*. As the word *citizen* has been removed in Lpo 94, we might assume a lesser importance of citizenship. What we find instead is in fact an even greater focus on *vocation* as variations of that notion are mentioned seven times. The school shall strive for that every pupil develop knowledge and experience for making well considered choices over further education and vocation. Again a proof for the reproductive function concerning labour force.

In Lgr 11 (Skolverket, 2011), the word citizen has been reinstated and now appears three times in the text. Although there isn't any immediate change of direction in definition and meaning from earlier policy documents, we can notice a certain movement towards an emphasis on citizens being economically profitable for society. The good citizen is the one that acquires skills necessary for a creative, active, competent and responsible individual (Dovemark, 2004). But – instead of using these characteristics to build a society of fellowship, solidarity and co-responsibility, the citizens are being fostered into being of importantly economic use.

## 4 Discussion

To begin the discussion, I would like to say that I think the study has fulfilled its aims. I have answered the questions I posed, and hopefully I have also contributed to broadening policy discourse in relation to earlier research. It is my hope that I also have contributed to enrich on-going educational research in a positive way.

The purpose of this study was to identify discursive changes within educational regimes, specifically concerning participation and citizenship as expressed in school curricula, and in addition to this, see how these changes have affected the production and reproduction of social capital within the educational system. What I have found is three quite major changes in the views of education in Sweden.



**Figure 5 Process of discursive changes within the educational system.**

The figure illustrates a turn from nodal points characterised of democracy, solidarity and fellowship into an education based on individuality, knowledge, economy and skills beneficial for the society more than for the human being. What we see is a rather firm and explicit direction towards a school suited for the market where the individual is supposed to learn competences that will be beneficial for the market (cf. Beach, & Dovemark, 2009; 2011). In other words, we see a progression that moves further and further away from putting the individual in the centre, and more towards the use of individuals as tools for producing valuable products and labour force for the market. This policy turn with its conservative modernisation as the main project becomes quite obvious in the effort in emphasising the role of education in the economy.

From the democratic position in Lgr 69, and somewhat in Lgr 80, we can see a rapidly growing strive for competition and elitism. The former thoughts of enabling individuals to expand their intellectual capacities beyond the requirements from the labour market, is now replaced by making the individuals to expand capacities beneficial for the market. The reproductional function within Swedish educational system has developed an even greater emphasis on the market's need for creating a consumerist society by encouraging the individual believing that serving the market is the best way to be a 'good' citizen.

However, to be able to achieve this change in mentality and action within the individual, a change of the schooled habitus is needed in order to make the individual believe

that he actually counts. What the individual is lacking due to this habituation is the ability to realise that the decisions lie in the hands of society and its needs, instead of *us*. In this habituation it can be assumed that the working class individuals are most likely to be ‘manipulated’ by the authorities as they lack the cultural capital to reveal the on-going habituation (Stevenson, 2011). When summing this up we find:

- A move towards a greater authoritarianism because of the move towards a more consensus-orientated direction concerning the meaning of participation and citizenship.
- Immanent contradictions within Swedish curricula cause an increasing conflict within individuals.
- A move towards vocation and market, where the individual no longer is seen as a good member of the democratic society, but a ‘good’ and beneficial member of the economic society.

The neo-liberal way of living with its conservative modernisation and traditionalism as ideological motto has really affected our habitus making us believe that the ‘un-normal’ is the normal. Efficiency, profit, market, human capital as labour force, exploitation, competition, Social-Darwinism...all these notions have become the ‘new’ normalisation, the ‘new’ common sense. We have all finally reached a consensus that it is normal creating and maintaining a reproduction whose only purpose is to let 20 per cent of the population use and abuse the maintaining 80 per cent (Apple, 1982).

Thus, what has happened during the last 50 years in Swedish educational system is that there has been a dislocation within its major discourses. Earlier ideas about a school for all with visions of the individual as a member of a society built on democracy and solidarity have now shifted into visions of the individual being a product beneficial for the market. The nodal points, i.e. the signs that bear a privileged status within the discourse, have also been dislocated (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). The former nodal points such as *fellowship*, *co-responsibility*, *solidarity* and *humanity* have changed into signs such as *differentiation*, *efficiency*, *competence*, and *employability*. Habituation of the individual makes the ‘new’ discourse seem natural, true and desirable. By habituating individuals into accepting social-darwinistic characteristics such as efficiency, competence and differentiation as a normalisation, society influences and encourages a sort of consensus-minded perspective. There is also an active return to traditionalism and conservative ideals, which involve changes in constructions of habitus and identities, the consensus of regarding social reproduction (Willis, 1981) has become greater and in a sense totally universal. The early discourse, which in a way could be considered to be driven from a conflict perspective spirit emphasising the “development of critical thinking and the liberty of human thought against elitism and authoritarianism (Stevenson, 2011, p. 146), has now become increasingly consensus oriented.

Although the changed discourse in many ways contradicts the previous one, individuals may regard it as common sense and worth striving for and through its participation in education will then have changed its meaning. This change of meaning can be identified in formal policy discourse. In Lgr 69 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969), pupils and parents were expressed as jointly participating in the creation of the school environment and decision making. In later curricula (Lpo 94 and Lgr 11) a relation between participation and the market develops, i.e. the school has a responsibility of enabling participation as a means to develop competences (Europeiska unionens officiella tidning, 2006) suitable and beneficial for a market-society. The discursive changes identified in the present study have also been described as moving increasingly towards a greater form of authoritarianism.

## 4.1 The shifting purpose of education and changes in educational aims

Investigating the various policy documents has provided evidence for three different overarching societal purposes with education in Sweden during the last 50 years. From the earlier documents connected to Lgr 69 the purpose was one of creating a school for all, later these ideals turned into a more market adapted education characterised by knowledge, competence and, in a way, obedience. There is also a mimetic factor. The teacher is supposed to go through the material in the education, explain, instruct and repeat it – and the pupils are to, more or less, receive and reproduce. If the pupils are allowed too much own responsibility over their studies, it will cause problems and difficulties for certain groups in society, especially boys and those from un-academic homes (Björklund, 2014). The solution to this is re-creating a school based on authoritarianism and conservative thinking.

An explanation to the advance of conservative ideals can be found within the Right parties who claimed that earlier reforms have had devastating consequences for the individual learning, which needed to be corrected (Prop. 2008/09:87). A return to more traditional and conservative education policies was necessary to save the school and society (Sjöberg, 2011; Beach, 2011). This can also be describe as a return to higher standards but with modern ingredients such as accountability, measurement and management (Apple, 2013).

In Lgr 62 (SFS 1962:480), the purpose of the school was to foster the pupil by mediating skills and knowledge, habits, attitudes and values in order to adapt to existing and future society and there was also a function toward developing the labour force and citizenship (pp.1307-1308). Looking at the four paradigms in education (Andersson, 1995) we have the traditional labour directed; the progressive, critical-social; the academic; and the personal development paradigm. According to Andersson, the dominant paradigm in current policy documents are the traditional and the academic paradigms. The explanation to this is the salient emphasis on the desire to maintain traditional values, but also the focus on skills and knowledge, underpinned by the expressed knowledge demands in both Lpo 94 and Lgr 11. This focus is a clear return to a traditional conservative way of creating citizens and labour force and to maintain the unity in society by concentrating and ratifying class domination in order to reproduce class relations (Berner et al., 1977). This description aligns with a Marxist research tradition, where the state is considered as a repressive apparatus.

Althusser (1971) regards the state as a machine of repression which makes it possible for the privileged class to ensure their domination over the working class. This statement becomes rather salient if defining the state as an oppressive force intervening in the interests of the advantaged class. Thoughts that are having a revival in the current policy ideals emphasising the state having the outmost responsibility for Swedish education and that it should take on a greater normative and regulating role (Björklund, 2014).

Traces of a will toward a greater normative and regulating role for the school can be found in a more implicit manner. In the Swedish Education Act from 2010 (SFS 2010:800) the word *State* is mentioned several times in the context of a impersonal authority. This form of an impersonal agent is an example of transivity (Fairclough, 1992), how the *State* is given a certain position and power. We can also see this in both Lpo 94 and Lgr 11, as both documents give an impersonal agent or voice greater space than in earlier policy documents. In both Lpo 94 and Lgr 11, the emphasis on *the school* can be said to represent this impersonality, and school can also be seen as a extended arm of the state, with the teacher, regarded as its main tool. The school is to, as stated in Lgr 94 and Lgr 11, actively and consciously influence and stimulate pupils into embracing the common values of society and express these in everyday action (Skolverket, 1994a, p. 8) and take responsibility for

ensuring that they develop the knowledge that is necessary for each individual and member of society for working life and as a basis for further education (Skolverket, 2011, p. 15).

In earlier curricula, school representing that state also appears as an impersonal agent, but with a less authoritative voice. According to for instance Lgr 69 school is to provide the pupils freedom to influence their working environment (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969, p. 10) and the organisation and daily work at school is to be designed in a way that enables every pupil to freely express their abilities and possibilities. Notable also is that this is something that the school and pupil are supposed to do together. It is not just something that the pupil is to receive and accept.

Already in Lgr 80 there is a subtle dislocation concerning the state as an impersonal agent. School is given an obligation to provide the pupils with an increasing responsibility in step with their age and maturity to receive appropriate knowledge and skills. The impersonal voice is still not very explicit, however it begins to show an increasing form of authoritarianism in the sense that school is given a higher sense of autonomy. The previous collaboration between the state and the individual has now been converted into a greater dislocation in the balance, given the state a stronger hegemony and dominance. School has to simulate their desire for school work and foster them into responsibility, good working – and leisure time habits and a democratic way of acting. Knowledge, skills, norms and values are “not only to be transmitted from one generation to another, but also actively exploited and advanced” (Regeringen, 1980, p. 15. My translation).

This change in the state apparatus is very much influenced by the struggle between the social classes according to Berner, Callewaert and Silberbrandt (1977). It is not that the state apparatus creates separations in social classes, but rather maintains them through the conditions of production. These conditions decide the role of the state apparatus and become foundational in its function as it reproduces the conditions of production. We can talk of two major elements.

- The expanded reproductions of the places possessed by the agents. These places constitute a structural determination of the social classes, i.e. in what way the structures decide and exist in practice.
- The agents reproduction and distribution of the available places (pp. 142-143. My translation).

The conclusion to be drawn here according to Berner et al is that the traditional educational system aims at maintaining and reproducing a certain given relationship between classes, and that habituation influences individuals to unconsciously form their identities and practices in favour of maintain a *status quo* (Berner et al., 1977). Already in 1861 (Arnold, 1861) we find arguments that support the current process of traditionalism and conservative return.

But there are some things which neither in England nor in any other country can the mass of a people have by nature, and these things governments can give it. They can give it those simple, but invaluable and humanising, acquirements, without which the finest race in the world is but a race of splendid barbarians. Above all, governments, in giving these, may at the same time educate a people's reason, a people's equity. These are not the qualities which the masses develop for themselves. (Arnold, 1861, p. 235)

In line with Arnold's emphasis on the importance of a state possessing the salient knowledge to educate human beings, the neo-liberal turn in the curriculum thus seems to have as its main aim to return to traditional social values which will support school in fostering pupils into the

bearers of traditions and knowledge with one main function; to maintain capital as the dominant force in order to enable the maintenance of political hegemony (Gabrielsson, 2012)

In his analysis of recent education policy developments in Europe Beach identified two variables with some significance for what is being discussed here; *habituation* and *marketisation*. By familiarising the individual into ways of thinking and accepting the 'steering' ideals and policies such as freedom, knowledge (Beach, 2008), the individual is more or less lured into a false feeling of identity or citizenship. Instead of questioning the habituation, the individual sees the convincing rhetoric as 'common sense'. Habituation also makes it a natural aspect in the occupational life that the constant struggle for maintaining a high status, prestige and a significant position, is in fact 'common sense', and appears to be a very effective way to separate individuals. A 'game' that everyone seems to take part in without any questions, since it has become the 'normal' normalisation.

But what does this say in relation to the purpose of the present study and my research questions. Can we identify such discursive changes within educational regimes? To begin with the answer is yes. We can see a dislocation regarding the meaning of *participation* and *citizenship*. The nodal points concerning these two notions have changed from emphasising the individual into focusing the market. Secondly, by forcing circumstances upon the pupils in the classroom, where little or no room is given for dissident behaviour (Christie, 1973; Berg, 2003), a situation is created which will benefit the pupils who have learned to 'stay in line', master the norms, make right choices (Beach & Dovemark, 2009) and comply with the new hegemony of schooling and education (Beach & Dovemark, 2011). That will give us a school which utilises the human capital (Sjöberg, 2011) efficiently and separates the 'wheat from the chaff'.

## 4.2 New forms of individuation

As the discursive changes have been drawn up in policy texts more and more toward creating human capital which can stand strong in the context of global competition (Lgr 11), methods are acquired for separating and distinguishing individuals. This was done already in the 1860s (Marx-Arbeitsgruppe Historiker, 2014) as well as today (Europeiska unionens officiella tidning, 2006).

This discursive changes are connected with habitus and will greatly effect the habituation of the individual. The schooled habitus is affected in many ways, but I will especially illuminate education as a reproductive phenomenon. Social domination is reproduced from generation to generation through the command of symbolic violence by dominant social groups in order to perpetuate their regime without "the need for extensive resort to overt violence" (Nash, 2002, p. 28). Bourdieu claims that school actually teach stunningly little, in a technical sense, as the main function is to subordinate a social function with the single purpose to maintain and reproduce a given relationship between different social classes (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

The discursive changes have transformed and affected the schooled habitus into a social order where marketisation (cf. Beach, 2008; Apple, 2013) has become *the* word. By habituating the individuals into a certain direction through discourses, the education now makes education a product to be sold and consumed. We see this clearly in the shift toward the neo-liberal efforts to make a school for the market. We are all now being habituated into actively striving for making the teachers salesmen and pupils buyers and consumers – and the more and better you sell, the greater the profit. Thus, the schooled habitus is now directed toward a more 'profit-related' goal and enterprise –like praxis, where education provide with knowledge products in the shape of human capital. The educational system in Sweden today



corresponds quite well with marketisation having the goal to encourage individuals to perform something good and profitable for the labour market, in order to fulfil the ruling economic standards (Frelin, 2013).

What we face today in the Swedish educational system is a maintained traditionalism struggling to preserve what are seen as the country's traditional values and historical view. Moving toward conservative modernisation can be seen as a trajectory in using traditional ideals aimed to modernise the education (Sjöberg, 2011; Ross et al., 2012).

Articulation and choice of wording becomes utterly important in affecting the habitus as well as changing discourses. By using specific rhetoric, slogans and wordings the neo-liberal message of efficiency, human capital and knowledge as a product to be sold becomes more intense and powerful in habituating individuals in desired behaviours. The Swedish school is now going through the most reform intense period since the mid – 1900 century, with purpose to enhance the knowledge results and increase the status of the teacher profession (Åsebol, 2013) and education is regarded as the most important tool for every individual “in order to gain success in life [...] Clear demands on knowledge in school, secure class-rooms and quality in the higher education is the way to a future growth and well-fare. [...] Sweden is going to have the best school in the world. We are now beginning to win the Nobel prizes, not just give them out. (Björklund, 2013).

### **4.3 Further research**

The increasing neo-liberal ideology with authoritarianism, vocation, market and ‘good’ citizens as its trade mark is, from the point of view of the thesis, a highly dangerous and destructive movement. The way the policy documents use rhetoric to affect the habitus and ‘shape’ citizens in a desirable direction will lead us further and further away from a democratic society characterised by fellowship and where humans are not reduced into only being human capital with no value other than economic benefit. The movement towards a greater normalisation of dehumanising individuals in the name of educational policy may lure us into a society of profit and obedience, instead of encouraging critical thinking and letting voices be heard and the increasing aim of making us as ‘marketised’ as possible may reduce our ability to realise how un-normal the normal has become. Today we live in a normalisation where it is common sense that we all serve the market as the market serves us in return. This is, perhaps, a false ideology within which individuals become more and more tangled in the great web of life lies (Ibsen, H., 1918). The neo-liberal ideals making the un-normal normal, and making us live a life based on fabrications and lies, can only lead to a continuous reproduction of conflicts between individuals and a growing non-democratic society.

Thus, it is of great value to continue investigating the effects of discourses and discursive changes, not only national –as in this study- but also with a more global point of departure. As we live in an increasing globalisation, Sweden cannot stand alienated from the rest of the world. Although my study has focused only at Swedish educational policies, it might be of value in broadening the spectrum, involving investigating the global discursive effects on education and the production and reproduction of social capital within the educational system. Further research is required here

## 5 Conclusions

The neo-liberal way of conservative modernisation and traditionalism means that efficiency, profit, market, human capital as labour force, exploitation and competition have all entered the curriculum discourse as a 'new' normalization and a 'new' common sense and educational consensus. Thus, what has happened during the last 50 years in Swedish educational system is that there has been a dislocation within its major discourses. The previously formative conceptualization in the curriculum discourse of 'one school for all' has been replaced by a market discourse. The nodal points, i.e. the signs that bear a privileged status within the discourse such as *fellowship*, *co-responsibility*, *solidarity*, have also been dislocated and replaced by signs such as *differentiation*, *efficiency*, *competence*, and *employability*. In the process there has also been a move towards a greater authoritarianism because of the move towards a more consensus-orientated direction concerning the meaning of participation and citizenship. This has introduced an immanent contradiction and a potential for increasing inner conflicts within individuals. The movement towards a market discourse is suggested to be a highly problematic one.

The neo-liberalistic ideology dehumanises individuals in the name of educational policy through smart rhetoric and indoctrination may lure us into a society of profit and obedience, instead of encouraging critical thinking and letting voices be heard. The increasing aim of making us as 'marketised' as possible, in time, will reduce our ability of realise how un-normal the normal has become. The ideological function within education has increased rapidly during the last three curricula, and really have become one of the strongest factors behind social reproduction (Althusser, 1971).

Today we live in a normalisation where it is common sense that education provides with knowledge products in the shape of human capital, where education is a product to be sold and consumed by the market (cf. Beach, 2008; Apple, 2013; Frelin, 2013). At a first glance you might say that there are no differences between Lgr 69 and Lgr 11 – they all talk of the importance of the individual as a citizen. However, the great division is the change of meaning within the notions individual and citizen. In Lgr 69 the 'good' citizen was characterised by already being a citizen which should be helped in developing values such as honesty, justice, respect and tolerance, and the educational system had as a responsibility to maintain these citizens in values towards humanity and solidarity (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969).

During the later curricula the notion individual has changed into being something that education are supposed to create and steer into values not beneficial for the individual as such, but for the market. Hence the shift in meaning from an individual regarding already a member of the society, into individuals that have to be created and shaped into a certain direction to be beneficial for the market (cf. Sjöberg, 2011; Beach, 2011; Beach & Dovemark, 2011; Gabrielsson, 2012).

The common sense of today is not being a 'good' citizen in the meaning of striving for solidarity and humanity, but a 'good' citizen that only wants to obey and compete without actually knowing what the contest really is about. Due to the constant habituation from the shifting purpose in education and the new forms of individuation the 'buzz' word of today (Flew, 2010) could be equal to *nobody needs anyone* (Bowie, 1997). And whether *the*

*Lawman beating up the wrong guy* (Bowie, 1971) or not doesn't really matter, as long as he or she does it in order to serve the market.

Analysing texts could in a way be similar to playing with words, which can be quite funny...sometimes... But when the playing creates a context which only aims at maintaining a certain status for some individuals exploiting the rest, who are supposed to *suck on a Coke and only think of a joke*...(Bowie, 1997) then the playing becomes very serious, and indeed will lead to increasing conflicts between individuals and certainly to a growing non-democratic society.

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